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THE
WOODSTOCK
LETTERS

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FATHER CHARLES NEALE, S.J.

and

The Jesuit Restoration In America

LAURENCE J. KELLY, S. J.

Father Charles Neale, S.J., was a prominent figure in the American Church when the Most Reverend John Carroll was consecrated the first Bishop of Baltimore in 1790. Father Neale had returned to America on July 2nd of that year as chaplain of a small band of Carmelite nuns with whom he had come from Belgium to found their first American monastery at Port Tobacco, Maryland. When in 1805 the ex-Jesuits on the Maryland Mission were aggregated to the Society in Russia, five members of the old Society immediately re-entered and renewed their vows, viz.: Fathers Robert Molyneux, John Bolton, Charles Sewall, Sylvester Boarman and Charles Neale. Father Neale was the youngest, although he was in his fifty-fourth year, and he was the only one who still survived when the Society was restored throughout the world in 1814. His life, therefore, carries especial interest, since he in America, like Blessed Joseph Pignatelli in Europe, became the sole link between the old and the new Society. Moreover, he was three times Superior of the Jesuit Mission in Maryland with its dependent missions in Virginia, Pennsylvania and New York.

Father Neale was born October 10, 1751, at Port Tobacco, originally an Indian settlement in Charles County, one of the southernmost counties in Maryland. His parents were William Neale and Anne Brooke. Their modern descendants trace the origin of the Neale family to Lord O'Neale, former King of Ulster, Ireland, who with three other kings rebelled against Queen Elizabeth. This Lord O'Neale, who was killed in battle, was survived by two young sons, one of whom was placed with the King of Spain by an army chaplain. The son of this royal ward became an admiral in the Spanish navy and visited the Colony of Maryland in 1636. In 1642 bearing the more modest title of Captain James Neale, he obtained a royal grant of a tract of 2,000 acres which formed a peninsula between the Wicomico and Potomac Rivers and was called Walleston Manor. Hence the name, Neale Sound, which still attaches to a strait which separates this manor land from a small island in the Potomac. Captain Neale held prominent positions in the Council of the Second Lord Baltimore for the next four years. He then married and went to England; but he returned in 1660 and settled permanently on the manor property.

William and Anne Neale had thirteen children. Besides Charles there were six other sons and six daughters. The sons in order of seniority were William Chandler, Joseph, Oswald or Roswell, Raphael, Leonard, Charles and Francis Ignatius. Of the daughters, Anne became a Poor Clare at Aire in Artois, France. William, Joseph, Leonard and Charles entered the Society before the suppression in 1773. They were followd by Francis, the youngest, after the restoration. Joseph died as a novice after making vows of devotion on his deathbed. Oswald aspired to become a Jesuit but died before he could realize his wish. There is an old document in possession of the Neale family which states that he died a Jesuit. Francis, who was in his studies at Bruges and was prevented from entering by the suppression, continued his studies at Liége, was ordained and returned to America to labor on the Maryland

Mission. He at last entered and began his noviceship on October 10, 1806, after the aggregation of the ex-Jesuits in Maryland to the Jesuits in Russia. Francis survived his brothers and lived to see the Maryland Mission erected a Province in 1833. Raphael was the only son who married. William, who became a Jesuit in 1760, continued to labor in England until his death in 1799. Leonard, four years older than Charles, entered the novitiate at Ghent in 1767 and was ordained at Liége in 1774. He, too, was engaged on the English Mission and after five years volunteered to serve on the foreign missions. He was assigned to Demarra in British Guiana, but his health failed and he came to the Maryland Mission in 1783, where he labored with distinguished zeal. In 1791 he went to Philadelphia to take the place of two priests who had died in a yellow fever epidemic. When a second epidemic broke out, he contracted the fever, but recovered. In 1793 by a vote of the clergy in council he was proposed as coadjutor to Bishop Carroll, but his consecration by Bishop Carroll did not take place until 1800 when he took the title of Bishop of Gortyna with the right of succession to the See of Baltimore. Bishop Carroll was raised to the archiepiscopal dignity in 1808 when the suffragan See of Philadelphia, New York, Boston and Bardstown were created. Archbishop Carroll died in 1815 and Bishop Leonard Neale became the second Archbishop of Baltimore.

Such was the background and the family into which Charles Neale was born, on October 10, 1751. He was but seven or eight years of age when he was sent to a school conducted by the Jesuits at Bohemia, Cecil County, on the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake Bay in Maryland. His brother, Leonard, as well as Charles and Nicholas Sewall, all future Jesuits, were among his fellow students. Bohemia was the fourth school opened by the Society in the Maryland Colony to carry on its traditional work of education. The first was at St. Mary's City (1636), the second at Calverton Manor on the St. Mary's side of the Wicomico River

(1640), the third at Newtown on St. Clement's Bay (1677). The last named was closed by an act of the anti-Catholic Maryland Assembly, passed in 1704. Two years later a tract of 458 acres was acquired by the Jesuits at Bohemia, in the extreme northeastern part of the Colony, presumably beyond the reach of the enemies of the faith. The estate was named St. Xaverius and a manor house and chapel were erected. These buildings have long since disappeared. It was not until 1744 that Father Henry Neale, the local superior, considered it safe to build the school. The superior of the Mission was Father Thomas Poulton and his principal purpose was to promote native American vocations to the priesthood. Classes were opened in September, 1745, and the first scholar registered was one Thomas Heath. This school continued for twenty-five years, probably until the suppression of the Society in 1773, and it has been justly called the cradle of Georgetown College, projected by Bishop Carroll in 1782 and erected in 1788 when he was Prefect Apostolic. The college at Georgetown was finally opened to students in the autumn of 1791 under Father Robert Plunkett, a Jesuit before 1773, as its first president. The Society could come into full possession of the college only when the partial restoration of the Jesuits was effected in 1805 with Father Molyneux as Superior. He had followed Father Plunkett in the presidency.

The courses at the school in Bohemia were classical and commercial. For the former the annual charge was forty pounds; for the commercial, thirty pounds. The future Bishop Carroll was among the first students in the classical course, as was his cousin and junior by two years, Charles Carroll of Carrollton. The school prepared those who could afford it to enter St. Omer's in French Flanders for their college or seminary education according to their vocation.

Father George Hunter, Superior of the Maryland Mission from 1756 to 1768, was one of the most zealous promoters of this system of education so necessary to provide native American priests for the faith-

ful in the Maryland Colony where, for over a hundred years, Catholics endured persecution and penalties almost as severe as those inflicted on Catholics in England by Elizabeth, James I and their successors. There is no official record of the infliction of the death penalty, but the complete and mysterious disappearance of several of the early Jesuit priests has been attributed to the pursuivants in Maryland and Virginia.

St. Omer's was, like colleges in Rome and Valladolid, established in 1592 by Father Robert Parsons, Superior of the English Jesuits, to prepare young aspirants to the priesthood. They were to return to their own country to endure a hard and perilous service for the Catholic faith and many of them to win the crown of martyrdom. St. Omer's was at a convenient distance from the port of Calais, in what was then the Province of Artois. Fire had destroyed most of the original buildings; those that survived in Father Neale's time were erected after 1725 and were used as a college for the next 150 years. St. Omer's had the honor of sending twenty of its alumni to martyrdom in the English persecutions. Father Hunter sent a convoy of youths from the school at Bohemia to St. Omer's in October, 1760. Charles and his older brother, Leonard, were of the party. Anne, their sister, and three other future nuns accompanied them. Two of these were sisters, named Boone, who were to enter the Carmel at Lierre, Belgium. The expenses of these young Americans abroad were usually paid through an agent in England.

But the Neales were not to remain long at St. Omer's. By a decree of the French Parliament, August 6, 1762, which became effective two years later by the signature of Louis XV, the Jesuits were proscribed in France and all its dominions and their schools closed. It was an omen of the general suppression of the Order that was even then being planned in the courts of Europe. St. Omer's was then taken from the Jesuits and given to the English secular clergy.

When the Jesuits were driven from St. Omer's in 1764, they went to Bruges, in Belgium. John Carroll, a scholastic still in the regency, was one of the exiles. Everyone of the 140 students showed their loyalty by accompanying their professors. Leaving their luggage behind for the time, they hastened to Bruges by forced marches; it has been described as "one of the most dramatic adventures in the history of any school." At Bruges they had to endure many hardships and privations, but soon resumed classes in an old mansion which they quickly fitted up for the purpose. There, young Neale continued his studies until 1771. On September 7 of that year he entered the novitiate at Ghent, just before completing his twentieth year.

Our novice had all but completed the two years of his noviceship, when the decree which suppressed the Society was promulgated in Rome, August 16, 1773. Reaching Belgium on September 5, it was put into effect in Bruges and Ghent just three days before Charles would have made his first vows. On October 6 it was communicated to the Jesuits in Maryland by Bishop Challoner of London. Father John Lewis, the Superior of the Jesuits there, and then acting as the Bishop's Vicar General, with his fellow Jesuits on the Mission, twenty-one in number, made his act of submission to the decree. Father Lewis continued to act for Bishop Challoner until the American Revolution broke out. After that his position was rather anomalous. He asked for renewal of faculties from Challoner's successor, but was obliged to appeal for them to Rome. Nine of the English Jesuits, now secularized, remained at their posts. Of that number only Father Molyneux and Father Bolton survived until 1805 and re-entered the Society. There were also German and Belgian Jesuits on the Mission. Of the Marylanders, Fathers Digges, Ignatius Matthews, and Benedict Neale died before 1805. There were other Americans in the English Mission, but they never returned to their native Maryland. The property of the Society throughout the world was confiscated by the civil power or

taken over by the Bishops and Vicars Apostolic. The non-priests were simply dismissed.

There were exceptions to the enforcement of the decree of Pope Clement XIV. All Bishops were ordered to have it read to every Jesuit under their community jurisdiction and thereupon it went into effect. But Frederick the Great of Prussia, and Catharine the Great of Russia forbade its promulgation. However, this prohibition persisted only in Western or White Russia and in that part of Poland seized by Russia in 1772.

After the novices at Ghent were dispersed, young Charles Neale chose to continue his studies for the priesthood at Liége. Here the English ex-Jesuits, in 1774, established an academy for English and American aspirants to the priesthood, under the protection of the Prince-Bishop of that diocese. This seminary was raised to the rank of a pontifical academy by Pope Pius VI in 1778, but was closed by the French Revolution in 1794. At its dissolution the English students returned to England and resumed their studies at Stonyhurst College, the gift of Mr. Thomas Weld, always a staunch friend of the Jesuits. The academy in Liége had been supported in part by legacies, of which the English seminarians got the benefit. The Neales and other Americans had to look to their families for funds. Charles in the years of his study of philosophy and theology followed the usual courses. He was ordained some time before 1780 and he was engaged for a while on the faculty of the academy, until his appointment by the Bishop, in October, 1780, to be chaplain of the Carmelite monastery of St. Joseph and St. Teresa in Antwerp. It was only after repeated urging on the part of his cousin, the Prioress, Mother Mary Margaret of the Angels, and on the recommendation of Father John Howard, Rector of the academy at Liége, that he accepted the post. There were also Carmels for American as well as for English nuns at Hoogstraeten, near the border of Holland, and at Lierre, foundations made by nuns from Antwerp.

When, some years after Father Neale's appointment, the Revolution spread into Belgium, the Carmelites fled from Antwerp to Lanherne in England; from Lierre they went over the channel to Darlington; and from Hoogstraeten to Chicester. Until the era of American Independence young women from Maryland had been obliged to follow their religious vocation in European monasteries.

For the next ten years Father Neale continued as chaplain at Antwerp. This monastery had been founded in 1612 by the Venerable Mother Ann of St. Bartholomew, one of the early companions of St. Teresa, and she spent the remaining years of her life there, dying in 1626. Father Andrew White had been chaplain there prior to his passage to America with Leonard Calvert, brother of Cecil, the second Lord Baltimore, and the Maryland Pilgrims. Of the one hundred and twenty-eight nuns at Antwerp in the years since its foundation only two were listed as Americans: Mary Brent, in religion Mother Mary Margaret of the Angels, and Margaret Pye, Mother Mary Magdalen of St. Joseph. The former was prioress from 1778 until her death in 1784. Hoogstraeten, where Father Neale was also confessor, seemed to be more popular with Americans. Ann Matthews, in religion Mother Bernardina Teresa Xavier, took the habit there in 1754 and was prioress from 1774 until 1790. In 1784 her two nieces, Ann Teresa and Susanna Matthews, were professed in the same monastery, taking the names: Sister Mary Aloysia and Sister Mary Eleanora respectively. Father Neale was their cousin.

John Carroll, the future Archbishop, pronounced his final vows as a Jesuit in 1771, in the same year which saw Charles Neale's entrance into the novitiate at Ghent. Carroll had entered the Society of Jesus on September 8, 1753, at the age of eighteen. After a regency at St. Omer's and Bruges, in the course of which Charles Neale may well have been numbered among his pupils, he completed his theological studies at Liége and was ordained there in 1769. After his

profession Father Carroll spent a year of travel as tutor of a young English nobleman and while in Rome he saw evidence of the international plot which was swiftly maturing against the Society of Jesus. When the suppression came Father Carroll went from Bruges to England, where he lived for a short time at the home of Lord Arundel. On June 26, 1774, he returned to America. There he became an inspiration to the ex-Jesuits in Maryland and Pennsylvania. Moreover, he entered wholeheartedly, together with his cousin, Charles Carroll, into the task of achieving the freedom of the American Colonies. The Revolution of 1776 achieved this; and then began the task of incorporating religious liberty into the Constitution of the new Republic. In this, too, Father Carroll's labors, shared by Charles and Daniel Carroll and by the better element among the American statesmen and patriots, were crowned with success.

After the American Revolution, the stage was set for an event which was to inaugurate a new epoch in the religious life of the Catholics of the United States, now happily freed from the yoke of Protestant England and her persecutions. Religious freedom being now established by the Constitution, Father Carroll, as Prefect Apostolic, readily fell in with the proposal to make a foundation of the Carmelites in this country. Prime movers in this were Father Ignatius Matthews of the Maryland Mission, brother of Mother Bernardina and Father Neale in Antwerp. Mother Mary Margaret of the Angels, the Prioress at Antwerp, had actually been chosen to lead a band of Carmelites to make a foundation in Maryland, but was prevented by her death in 1784. Mother Bernardina was then appointed Prioress and began to prepare for the voyage with her two nieces and with Sister Clare Joseph of the Sacred Heart (Frances Dickenson), an English nun of exceptional ability. The Church authorities in Belgium gave their hearty approval and Father Carroll was most happy over the prospect of the immense spiritual benefits to accrue to the Church in America from this community of contemplative religious.

The party with Father Neale as chaplain and accompanied by Father Robert Plunkett who was invited by Father Carroll to be the first president of the new Georgetown College, went to Amsterdam on April 19, 1790, and took a boat to the island of Texel, off the coast of Holland, whence they sailed for America on May 1st. On the voyage the nuns wore secular dress. It took exactly two months to reach New York, as the captain, a miserly Scotchman, in order to make a few more dollars in violation of his agreement, made a wide detour to the Canary Islands. An account of the voyage was published in the WOODSTOCK LETTERS, June, 1940. When they were eleven days out Mother Bernardina received a revelation of the death of her brother, Father Ignatius Matthews, at Newtown, Maryland. They finally arrived at Port Tobacco at the head of the river of that name, a tributary of the Potomac. They took up temporary quarters in the Neale Mansion, "Chandler's Hope," a family estate which had become the property of Father Neale.

In 1642 Port Tobacco, as was said above, was an Indian village. Father Andrew White had established a mission center there, with the residence on the site of the present St. Thomas Manor. He converted most of the Indians, including their queen. From there he made excursions almost as far as Washington, but found the Susquehannas, a branch of the fierce Iroquois, unfriendly and unreceptive. Father Warren, S.J., who was pastor in 1662, built a residence and chapel there and St. Thomas Manor continued as the headquarters of the Superior of the Mission for the next 170 years.

Plans had been made to locate the monastery in St. Mary's County but they could not be realized, probably because Bishop-elect Carroll had gone to England for his consecration. It would be interesting to know the site in St. Mary's that had been selected or proposed for the first Carmel. Chandler's Hope, on an eminence overlooking what was then the harbor of Port Tobacco, could serve the nuns only temporarily as it was not

adaptable to monastic life; perhaps, too, it was not far enough removed from the center of the bustling town. Consequently, Father Neale exchanged the property for that of Mr. Ignatius Baker Brooke, Jr., about two miles north of the town. Mr. Brooke had been a Jesuit scholastic at the time of the suppression. He returned to America and married, but after the death of his wife he entered St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, in 1801, and was ordained for the Mission. He did not re-enter the Society. Father Neale made an outright gift of his estate to the nuns and paid an additional $6,800 in order to acquire the Brooke property for the monastery. In addition to a few small buildings on the site others were erected and the canonical foundation of the first Carmel in America was made on the feast of the great foundress, St. Teresa, October 15, 1790. A small cottage was provided for the chaplain near by and outside the enclosure. The enclosure or cloister included the monastery buildings, a burying plot, lawns and a garden—in all about three acres,—and was called "Durham". The farm land was cultivated by slaves, the only labor obtainable in those times, but these were more of a liability than a help. It was often a charity rather than a profitable investment for the nuns and priests to employ and maintain them. The restrictions placed on cloistered nuns necessitated the presence of Father Neale as overseer to manage the material affairs of the establishment. He said Mass at the monastery every day and continued as chaplain until his death in 1823. In later years, he was at the same time the local Superior of St. Thomas Manor and St. Ignatius Church, at what is now known as Chapel Point.

As Father Neale was to take a principal part in the restoration of the Society in America we shall go back a few years prior to his coming to Port Tobacco to trace the beginnings of that historic movement. Until the suppression of the Society the Jesuits in Maryland were governed by a Superior appointed by the Very Reverend Father General but they received their

faculties as missionaries from the Vicar Apostolic in London. There had been twenty Superiors from 1633 to 1773, some serving more than two terms. The last Superior was Father John Lewis, already mentioned, and he acted as Vicar General of the Mission. After the Fathers were secularized by the Bull of Clement XIV he continued to be recognized as a kind of Superior and leader of the ex-Jesuits who carried on loyally the work of the Church and religion, though with heavy hearts because of the tremendous injustice inflicted upon them by the triumph of the enemies of the Society in Europe. A non-Catholic historian, commenting on the labors of those pioneer Jesuits pays them this tribute: "The history of Maryland presents no better, no purer, no more sublime lesson than the story of the toils, sacrifices and successes of her early missionaries." One of the severest hardships borne by them was from the climate. In Southern Maryland particularly the marshes and backwaters were for two centuries,—the entire Colonial period,—the source of deadly fevers that carried off many of the strongest and most active priests.

Father John Carroll on his return to Maryland conceived three great ambitions: to work for the restoration of the Society; to preserve intact its property until the restoration could be effected; and to establish a college and seminary to supply recruits for the American Church. In 1783 a Jesuit in Russia, where the Society's valid existence had been recognized by the Holy See, urged him to have the Americans aggregated to the Russian Province. The Fathers in England counseled the same, assuring him that the English ex-Jesuits would be glad to go over to America to join their brethren there. In fact, he needed no urging to bring out the restoration. He always identified himself, even as Archbishop, with his former Jesuit brethren, using continually such expressions as: We hope, We believe, We petition, etc. After the American Revolution the English Vicar Apostolic declined to administer any longer the business of the Church in America.

Father Carroll, therefore, in 1782 drew up a plan for the reorganization of the clergy on the Mission which would follow as closely as possible the Institute of the Society, and would at the same time preserve its former possessions against all claimants whomsoever until such time as the properties could be restored and be again what they were before 1773. He communicated his plan in a wholly impersonal manner to all the clergy, practically all of whom were ex-Jesuits, and in 1783 and 1784 three meetings were held, presided over by Father Lewis, the recognized Superior. The plan as proposed by Father Carroll was approved and adopted in substance.

Because it is so essential to a true understanding of the bitter controversy which later developed between Charles Neale, as Superior of the restored Society in America, and Archbishop Marechal, who succeeded Archbishop Leonard Neale in 1817, it is necessary to examine the plan in some detail.

The first step was to form a general organization to be called "The Select Body of Clergy" which comprised all the priests, whether ex-Jesuits or not, who were in good standing and employed in the Mission in any of its stations or churches. The non-Jesuits admitted to The Select Body of the Clergy became eligible for the office of Representative and Trustee, a privilege that later put the property in danger of alienation. At first the number was limited to twenty-six, but in 1789 it was increased to thirty. Should the Society be fully restored membership was to be restricted to Jesuits only, and this was provided for in the constitution. The territory of the Mission was divided into three districts: the Northern, which included Baltimore, the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and stations in Pennsylvania; the Middle District, embracing Washington, Georgetown and Alexandria, Virginia; the Southern, comprising the two southern Maryland counties, Charles and St. Mary's. District chapters met at Conewago, Pennsylvania, for the Northern District; at Georgetown for the Middle District; and at St.

Thomas Manor for the Southern. Each of these chapters elected two delegates to meet at general chapters. At the first organization meeting a special committee of delegates from the three Districts was named to draft a constitution. Father Carroll was one of the delegates from the Middle District. The constitution was adopted October 11, 1784, and remained substantially unchanged until 1814 when the Superior received his authority from the Father General according to the Institute of the Society.

By the constitution the Select Body was the final referee in all disputes and in amending or interpreting the constitution. It elected a Board of Directors, called Representatives, two for each District. This Board held office for three years and, in its turn, every three years chose an executive or administrative committee of five, called Trustees, who were subordinate to the Board of Representatives. The District Chapters could sell or dispose of personal property in their respective territories, but not of real estate. The Representatives regulated rates, leases and all general expenditures. So matters continued until application was made to the Maryland Assembly or Legislature for incorporation of the Board of Trustees to legalize its acts. Articles of incorporation were granted December 23, 1792, in spite of much secular opposition. Until then the Society's property was held by individual ex-Jesuits who were required to pass it on by will or deed to other former members. Incorporation was necessary to prevent it from falling into the hands of the natural heirs of these temporary owners. They now transferred all the property by deed to the corporation, which thenceforward was to be known as the "Corporation of the Roman Catholic Clergymen." This corporation is still an active, legal institution, holding title to property of the Province and administering temporalities through an agent or procurator. The spiritual Superior of the Select Body of the Clergy, first Father Lewis and after him Father Carroll, had no authority over the properties under the constitution. After 1814 the

Corporation acted according to its legal charter but under the direction of the Superiors of the Society. Perhaps, some analogy may be seen between this plan and that of the Knights of Columbus. The organization may not hold legal title to real estate, but it is represented by a corporation composed of its members who hold and administer property for the benefit of the Order. Father Carroll, writing in 1789, claimed that the surviving Jesuits did a signal service to religion in Maryland by thus providing for the transmission of the Society's property, since their aim and labor were "to secure from waste and misapplication and to transmit to the future ministers of the Church the property which was required for its advantage and preserved by their predecessors."

In the years that followed, including the years during which they ruled the archdiocese of Baltimore, neither Carroll nor his successor, Leonard Neale, ever claimed in their official capacity any right to the Jesuit property. Archbishop Neale, both before and after his consecration, was a member of the Corporation in charge of the property. He was praised by Father Dzierozinski, Superior from August, 1823 until November, 1830, as the one to whom most credit should be given for preserving those properties that were so essential for the subsistence of the restored Society and its work for the Church in that part of the country.

Archbishop Carroll ranked only as a member of the clergy until 1802 when he was elected to the Corporation as a Trustee. While he ever upheld the right of the Society through its members to the property, Father Neale's brother, Leonard, was the most active spirit in maintaining that right. When Carroll was appointed Bishop of Baltimore in 1790, he renounced all official claim to the properties as being diocesan or ecclesiastical in the strict sense. He merely reiterated previous disclaimers and, in a parallel case, denied the right of the Vicars Apostolic to the Jesuit property in England after suppression. A pension of one hundred

pounds a year had been allowed from the revenue of the properties in Maryland and Pennsylvania for the support of Father Lewis, the spiritual Superior, after 1773. This was continued to Father Carroll who succeeded him in 1784, and, when the Select Body of the Clergy on November 11 of the same year met to adopt the constitution, they voted to extend the same grant to the future Bishop, provided the Holy See appointed one of their own number. Carroll and Leonard Neale both fulfilled this condition and the annual grant to them was increased to two hundred and ten pounds during their lifetime. As ex-Jesuits they were entitled to the benefits of the Society's property. Their right was sanctioned by the Articles of Incorporation, wherein it was stipulated that a Bishop so chosen and proposed by the Select Body should be supported by its funds, not by an annual variable amount but by a fixed pension and for life. It is necessary to establish these points, as has been said, in view of the subsequent controversy between Father Neale as Superior and Archbishop Marechal.

When the Vicars Apostolic of London ceased to communicate with the priests of the Maryland Mission after the Revolutionary War, it became evident that some form of ecclesiastical government independent of the English Bishops was absolutely necessary. There were political reasons, also, for such independence. Knowledge reached America that the Papal Nuncio in Paris was endeavoring to have a French Bishop sent to the United States. The Holy See, however, named Father Carroll as Prefect Apostolic, June 9, 1784, and invested him with faculties to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation. Father Lewis had been first on the list proposed to the Holy See for the position, but he was advanced in years and his health was much impaired by his long labors on the Mission.

The Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda had written that the clergy could propose someone as Vicar Apostolic to govern as in England. Father Carroll, however, was personally opposed to the ap-

pointment of a Vicar Apostolic because our government would oppose the rule of anyone not depending immediately on the Supreme Pontiff. Moreover, he knew from experience that Vicars Apostolic had not always been favorable to the Society in other countries. In fact, it was well known that Cardinal Antonelli, the Prefect of Propaganda, to which Vicars Apostolic were subject, was definitely opposed to the restoration of the Society. In this attitude Faher Carroll showed his sincere and filial devotion to the Society. Many fervent passages from his letters could be quoted to show the same.

The clergy on their part opposed for some time the appointment of a Bishop because they had evidence that an effort was being made to have one sent from the other side of the Atlantic. Such a one, they feared, would not be acceptable to the American government or would not understand American character and customs and might prove unfriendly to the ex-Jesuits. This was confirmed by the Fathers in England. Nevertheless, it became equally evident that the system adopted in 1784 was not working smoothly. Very Reverend Father Carroll with the limited powers of a Prefect Apostolic and with uncertain tenure of office under the Congregation of the Propaganda was having no end of trouble with recruits arriving from Europe. The situation called for the appointment of one with episcopal authority and more independent iurisdiction. The ex-Jesuits were also of the opinion that the new bishop should be one of their own number, who would cooperate with them in a positive way to bring about the restoration of the Order.

At a chapter of the clergy, held November 23, 1786, after passing favorably on Father Carroll's proposal to build a college and on a plan to form the Corporation which should legally hold the Society's property, the Fathers passed a resolution to send a memorial to the Pope petitioning for the appointment not of a Vicar Apostolic but of a bishop, the same to be of their number and choosing. Father Carroll was one of the

committee of five who drew up and signed in February, 1787, a set of proposals by which the ex-Jesuits were to be guided. One of these was that only a former Jesuit should be proposed for the bishopric in order to insure the best relations with the Fathers, respect for the Society's privilege of exemption, and recovery of the Society's property when the restoration could be brought about. The need of a bishop was again stressed because the authority of the Prefect Apostolic had not been sufficient to curb certain foreign clergymen who had imposed themselves on the Catholics of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. Finally, after a chapter held March 12, 1788, by thirteen former Jesuits, a direct appeal, signed by a committee composed of Father Carroll, Father Molyneux and Father Ashton, was addressed to Pope Pius VI requested that an episcopal see be erected in Baltimore and that the clergy, at least for this first time, be permitted to elect the candidate for that office. The memorial did not reach His Holiness until November. By that time the Congregation of Propaganda had already approved of the bishopric.

When the good news arrived from Rome, the same committee of three Fathers called a meeting of delegates from all three Districts to hold the election. They met at Whitemarsh in April, 1789, and the election took place after Mass and with much solemnity. When the votes and proxies were counted, it was found that Father Carroll had received the votes of twenty-four of the twenty-six electors, who participated. The Holy See, knowing well the merits of Father Carroll, promptly ratified his election and the Congregation of Propaganda took cognizance of the fact. The Papal Bull erecting the See of Baltimore and appointing Father Carroll as first bishop was issued November 6, 1789. The Bishop-Elect was stunned by this result which he had honestly dreaded. He wrote to his intimate friend, Father Plowden, that he hated even to think that this dignity had been conferred upon Him. However, in order to forestall the appointment of

someone from abroad he submitted and took up the cross. He went to England, July 22, 1790, for his consecration by Bishop Walmesley, O.S.B., Vicar-Apostolic of the Western District of England. It took place on August 15 in the chapel of Lulworth Castle, the residence of Mr. Thomas Weld. Father Plowden preached on the occasion. Bishop Carroll sailed for home, October 8, and reached Baltimore, December 7.

Father Neale and the Carmelite nuns arrived in New York, July 2 in that same year; a month later than was planned. If their ship had gone direct to New York, they would have met and received a hearty welcome from the Bishop-Elect, as he did not leave for his consecration until late in July. It is probable that before sailing he heard of the arrival of the brave little company by way of Norfolk at Port Tobacco and approved of their making a foundation at that place. Father Ignatius Matthews, brother of Mother Bernardina, Prioress of the little Carmelites, was pastor at Newtown in St. Mary's County and in May, 1790 was expecting them and Father Neale. He had been one of the most active in promoting the project and had most probably selected a site for the monastery at or near his mission church. But his death, while the group of nuns were still at sea, prevented the realization of his plan, and it was decided to make the foundation in Charles County. From the moment of their arrival and during the entire twenty-five years of his administration of the See of Baltimore, Archbishop Carroll took the deepest interest in the welfare of the nuns, and often expressed his appreciation, as did other prelates in the young and growing Church, of the spiritual support they gave to religion by their prayers and penances.

Father Neale, now back in his native Maryland, devoted himself with as much energy as was displayed by his brothers Leonard and Francis, to maintain the title of the Society to its property. We shall see him cooperating with Bishop Carroll and his other ex-Jesuit brethren in their efforts to bring about the

restoration of the Society. They strove first for the aggregation of the Americans with the remnant of the Order that had served in Russia; after that, for a complete and universal restoration of the Society through the annullment of the Brief of Clement XIV by solemn papal authority.

Pope Clement's decree was such that it required promulgation by each bishop in his diocese in order to have full effect. On that account serious doubts have been entertained about the actual suppression of the Society in France where this solemnity of promulgation had not be carried out. In Russia Clement XIV and his successor, Pius VI, had an understanding with the Empress of Russia, through their delegate, to allow the Jesuits to continue undisturbed. In 1782 a General Congregation was held by the Jesuits at Polotsk and Father Czerniewicz was elected Vicar General. Pius VI approved of this by a *vivae vocis oraculo*. In 1793 the Duke of Parma was allowed to bring Jesuits from the Russian Province into his domains. On March 7, 1801, Pius VII at the request of the Emperor Paul I of Russia issued a Brief formally approving and confirming the Society as it still existed in that country and raising the Vicar, Father Kareu, to the rank of General. The Holy Father expressly confirmed the Society, as Paul II had done for St. Ignatius, adding the significant words: "Moreover we take the Society of Jesus and all of you, its members, under our immediate protection and obedience, and we reserve to ourselves and our successors the authorisation and sanction of whatever may seem proper in the Lord, to confirm and strengthen the Society and purify it of any abuses that may have crept in." On petition of King Ferdinand of Naples, Pope Pius VII, by another Brief addressed to Father General Gruber July 30, 1804, placed the Jesuits in the two Sicilies under the General in Russia and extended the same faculities to them as to the Jesuits in Parma.

It is true that by the Brief of 1801 the decree of Clement XIV was not wholly rescinded. It was a grant

that expressly legalized the Society, but only in Russia; as yet the special privileges which it had enjoyed up to 1773 were not restored. By the Brief the General was empowered to receive new members. What was more important for the Americans, the same Pope, in answer to a request of Very Reverend Father Gruber granted to the General the power to aggregate ex-Jesuits and others also, anywhere outside of Russia. These faculties were communicated July 2, 1802, to Father Gruber by Cardinal Consalvi, Papal Secretary of State, who was always a true friend of the Society. This grant was made because, as the Cardinal's letter stated, otherwise the Society "could not endure and be preserved." Outside of Russia there was to be no external display, no corporate existence, and novices were to be assembled only in a private manner. The English Jesuits received, on May 22, 1803, a particular grant, *vivae vocis oraculo,* of aggregation to the Russian province, and novices began to be received at Hodden where Father Charles Plowden, a lifelong friend and correspondent of Bishop Carroll, was appointed Master of Novices.

In Maryland the active movement for the restoration began in 1783. Father John Lewis, the Superior, called a meeting or chapter of the Select Body of Clergy at Whitemarsh on November 6 and they passed a resolution to take measures for the Restoration. The same was renewed in 1785; and again in 1788, in a more formal and positive manner, when a circular letter was issued by thirteen of the former Jesuits, veterans on the Maryland Mission, calling for the cooperation of all and in particular of Father Marmaduke Stone, Superior of the English ex-Jesuits and afterwards Provincial in that country. Bishop Carroll after his consecration was in a position to use his influence more than any other. At a meeting of a chapter of the representatives of the Select Body, called by him at St. Thomas Manor, it was voted to give preference to former members of the Society when admitting to that Body.

In the years that followed the French Revolution several societies of clerics were organized in Europe, either in desperation and as substitutes for the suppressed Society or because they hoped that thereby the restoration might be effected more speedily. There was the Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus founded in Belgium in 1794 by Francis de Tournély and Charles de Broglie. They were joined by Joseph Varin who became Superior when the Society was driven from Belgium into Austria. In 1797 Nicholas Paccanari, not yet ordained, and Father Halnet, organized another Society in Rome, called the Company of the Faith of Jesus. The two Societies, with a membership of 150, were merged in 1799. One of their most distinguished members who, with many other ex-Jesuits, had joined the merger, was Father John Rozaven. He reentered the Society and became one of the Assistants of the Fathers General Gruber and Brzozowski.

On learning of the Fathers of the Faith, seven of the Maryland ex-Jesuits, including Fathers Neale and Molyneux, met at St. Thomas Manor November 26, 1800, and addressed a joint letter to Father Stone, asking for information about the new Society and whether the Fathers in England intended to enter it. But nothing came of this since neither the English ex-Jesuits nor Bishop Carroll trusted the Paccanarists. For one thing the latter had affiliated an order of nuns to their Society. DeBroglie and Rozaven had hoped to make a foundation in America and wrote to Bishop Carroll about the prospect. At first the Bishop thought they might recruit his clergy and furnish some professors for Georgetown but he soon learned that this Society did not represent the primitive Institute and spirit of St. Ignatius. And he was opposed to any makeshift which would only be an obstacle to the complete restoration of the primitive Society. He knew that in his diocese there were clergymen who were anti-Jesuit and anti-Russian and that these would try to defeat any hasty or poorly planned action on the

part of his former brethren to revive the Society. Both in Europe and America these enemies were circulating malicious lies against the Jesuits. By his caution in the present case he again showed his real affection for the Society. Some years later in a letter to Father Neale, (November 5, 1811) he thus expressed his esteem for the Constitutions of St. Ignatius:

> "For the Constitutions of the Society I believe no one feels more respect, or a higher estimate of their wisdom than I; not merely because I love the Society with a filial tenderness, but because I have studied the Constitutions' excellence; and in various circumstances and countries have had the happiness of observing their effects in forming the minds and hearts of those who embrace them as their rule of life. Everywhere they answered the religious view of their author; wherever they were observed in their letter and their spirit, they raised men eminent in learning, great masters of a spiritual life, zealous and disinterested laborers, distinguished for their talents and success in the education of youth, solicitous to recommend themselves to the First Pastors of the Church by their cooperation in the salvation of souls."

Accepting Bishop Carroll's view of the Paccanarists, Father Neale and six of the former Jesuits began to proceed in more orderly fashion. Meeting again at St. Thomas Manor August 30, 1802, they made a formal appeal to Bishop Carroll and Bishop Neale, that they use their influence to obtain the favor of aggregation of the Americans to the Society now formally confirmed by Papal Brief in the Empire of Russia. Bishop Carroll on March 10, 1803, addressed himself to Pope Pius VII but was referred to the Father General Gruber. Again on April 25, 1803, the Fathers of the Southern district, in Charles and St. Mary's Counties, addressed a still more urgent appeal to Bishop Carroll, for they had learned that the Fathers in England had appealed for such aggregation and that the General in reply had asked for the names of the applicants. In fact, as noted above, the petition of the English ex-Jesuits was granted by their aggregation to Russia May 19, 1803. This last peti-

tion through Bishop Carroll was signed by Father Neale and six other ex-Jesuits, by three other priest-applicants and by six students at Georgetown who had received the tonsure. The Bishop, joined by his coadjutor, Bishop Neale, forwarded this appeal to Very Reverend Father Gruber on May 25, asking that the ex-Jesuits be allowed to renew their vows and "if it pleased God, to devote themselves for the rest of their lives to bring about the complete restoration of the Society in its genuine form and spirit." But they would have no substitutes. Blessed Joseph Pignatelli took the same stand against the King of Naples when the latter would have restored the Society only in name but not in fact.

The petition asked if the Pope had permitted the restoration of the Society by a Brief anywhere but in Russia and if members not formerly of the Society could be received; also what probation would be required for former members and how delegates to a General Congregation should be selected. His Paternity was asked to send from Europe a Jesuit of experience to effect the reestablishment. Assurance was given that revenue from the Jesuit properties was sufficient for the support of Georgetown College and at least thirty Jesuits. This petition never reached Father General. In the following September (September 21, 1803) Bishop Carroll sent a duplicate in care of the Fathers in England. Father Gruber replied March 12, 1804, and granted the petition. He deputed Bishop Carroll to name the Superior of the newly aggregated American Jesuits but without any special formality. He answered the questions in the Bishop's petition as follows: Pius VII had canonically approved the Society in Russia and had given authority, though not by Papal Brief, to receive new members anywhere; but as yet it was not permitted to Jesuits outside of Russia to unite in communities or to wear a distinctive dress or habit, lest a storm be raised by secular courts and governments. Former professed Fathers were to make a retreat of eight days and renew their profes-

sion; others of the old Society were to renew their simple vows after an eight day retreat, and after a lapse of a year they should make a thirty day retreat and then make their final vows in the grade assigned by Father General. New members were to make the thirty day retreat and after spending some time in the study of the Institute and rules of the Society they were to make their first vows. His Paternity on his part gave assurance that as soon as the opposition to the Society subsided,—and he said the time was not far off,—the general restoration of the Society could be effected *in foro externo* and a Province erected in America.

Before promulgating this grant of the Father General, Bishop Carroll, together with Bishop Neale, called a meeting of Fathers Sewall, Boarman, Bolton, Broake, and Neale at St. Thomas Manor, May 9, 1805, to have them decide whether to wait for full canonical restoration by Papal Brief or accept now their aggregation to the Society in Russia. The latter course was decided upon. Father Molyneux, absent at Newtown, concurred in the decision. On the feast of St. Aloysius, June 21, 1805, Bishop Carroll, acting for the General, named Father Robert Molyneux the first Superior and by a formal document in Latin invested him with "all the rights and privileges, power and authority wherewith the Provincials of the Society were formerly invested, until the General shall otherwise ordain." Of course these were not precisely the powers of Provincials but such as are conferred on Superiors of Missions.

Father Molyneux renewed first his simple vows on August 18, 1805, in St. Ignatius Church at St. Thomas Manor, in the presence of Fathers Sewall and Neale; and on that day Father Sewall did the same. After waiting thirty-four years, since September 7, 1771, Father Neale ended his long noviceship by pronouncing his vows before Fathers Molyneux and Sewall. In the presence of the same two Fathers, on October 6 at Newtown, Father Boarman renewed his simple vows. On October 10, in the Chapel at Newtown,

Father Bolton renewed his vows of profession. Father Molyneux requested Bishop Carroll to direct him by his own wide experience. The Bishop thought Bohemia or White Marsh or Saint Inigoes best suited for the Superior's residence but Father Molyneux preferred St. Thomas. Now formally established in office, he sent a report of all that had been done to Father General. Answering on February 22, 1806, Father Brzozowski who had lately succeeded to Father Gruber, formally granted to Father Molyneux the faculties of Superior in the internal forum according to the Compendium of the Society's privileges, and appointed him Rector of Georgetown College which now became the property of the Society. He confirmed Father Molyneux's appointment of Father Francis Neale as Master of Novices. On October 10 of that year they who were to take vows began the long retreat at Georgetown, in a house opposite Holy Trinity Church. Fathers Epinette and Kohlmann, still novices, had lately come from Europe and the latter was appointed Socius to the Master of Novices who himself was making his noviceship. On St. Stanislaus' day, November 13, at High Mass celebrated in Holy Trinity Church, Bishop Carroll received the vows of profession of Father Molyneux. Then Father Molyneux received the four vows of Father Neale. As no preacher had been appointed Father Neale read a sermon and Father Malevé preached with great rapidity a short sermon in Latin. Father Neale's performance was criticized as a "good sermon badly read." The Bishop who was in the Sacristy listening to Father Malevé inquired what language he was using. No doubt the occasion was so unusual that the participants were in a state of nervous excitement.

After this solemn public ceremony the novices, eight scholastics and two brothers, repaired to Georgetown College and took up their quarters in the second story of the old South Building, since replaced by the Ryan Memorial building. Father Molyneux now made his residence there with Father Francis Neale and his Socius, Father Kohlmann. Thus was formally begun

the newly organized Maryland Mission. Two weeks later Father Kohlmann wrote one of his official letters to Very Reverend Father General. In it he described Father Charles Neale as "a very superior man," and referred to Father Francis as "a pious man and filled with the spirit of God."

It is well to remember that, as Father Gruber explained to Bishop Carroll, the Motu Proprio of Pius VII, issued March 7, 1801, to confirm the Society in Russia, did not abrogate the general decree of Pope Clement XIV. Neither did it restore the ancient special privileges which were granted by the Holy See to the Society of Jesus prior to 1773. The General, moreover, authorized the Bishop to use the Jesuits in the ministry "in such a manner as shall appear most beneficial to the advancement of religion." Having this in mind, and because the privilege of aggregating members outside of Russia was not conferred on the General by a Brief but only by a verbal grant of Pius VII, the Bishop had misgivings about the permanence of this restoration of the old Maryland Mission. In his letter naming Father Molyneux as its first Superior, Bishop Carroll defined the role of the Jesuits as no different from that of secular priests. He seemed to claim the right to appoint them to Churches and to the care of souls, or change them and suspend them just as he had done when Superior and Prefect Apostolic and then as Ordinary of the Diocese. He did not believe that the Congregation of Propaganda under which he exercised his jurisdiction would recognize the new status of the American Jesuits as conferring any rights or exemptions *in foro externo*. Nevertheless, he believed that harmonious relations could be maintained between the Jesuit Superior and the Ordinary; and he so counselled Father Molyneux.

When Bishop Carroll and the ex-Jesuits were waiting for the grant from Father General to aggregate to the Russian Province, he wrote (and this, as most of his letters on these topics, was addressed to Father Plowden, the Master of Novices in England): "My

greatest objection to a dependence on a *vivae vocis oraculum* . . . is that it gives no stability to a Religious Order; that it cannot abrogate a public and acknowledged instrument such as the Brief of destruction; and that without a public Bull of approbation of the Institute, the distinction of simple and solemn vows, so essential to the Society, does not exist according to the doctrine of our divines after Suarez." He said that non-Jesuits questioned the canonical standing of the Americans as regulars and truly members of the Order when they had only a verbal concession of the Holy See to depend upon. It is true that he shared their doubts; but in refutation of the charges that he was opposed to the restoration, he rather showed his eagerness for the full and complete restoration *in foro externo* by applying to the Holy See for such a Brief as had been granted to Russia immediately on receiving permission from the General to affiliate with Russia. Rome did not reply at the time, probably because Pius VII had been taken into captivity. Three years later, January 10, 1808, he wrote to Plowden: "There would be no doubt of the Society acquiring stability in the United States, and of becoming eminently useful to them, if its support from the Head of the Church had more authenticity. A verbal authorization only is so easily denied, or repealed by his successor, that it offers no security to those who renounce all their worldly means of support under the hope of finding repose and necessaries in the bosom of a religious State." And he added: "I shall always fear while the reestablishment (as now effected in America) rests upon its present foundations." But he did not fail to praise the magnanimity of the youths who, in spite of this uncertainty, which was made perfectly clear to them, were happy to assume the obligations of the vows. Whatever may have been the scruples of the good Bishop, caused by the teaching of canonists, the General in Russia had no doubt whatsoever about the genuine and canonical status of the Americans as true regulars once they were aggregated to the Society in Russia,

and he tried to reassure Bishop Carroll. These American Jesuits were admitted to both simple and solemn vows and they were entered in the Catalogue of the Russian Province as members of that Province who lived outside the Province itself. Another scruple of the Bishop was in regard to the ordination of Jesuits in his diocese. Neither he nor Bishop Neale would ordain them as religious, *titulo paupertatis,* but only as mission priests like the seculars. But the General had no such scruple about the ordination of his subjects. However he respected the scruple of the Bishop so that for the time being the Jesuits continued to be ordained as missionary priests, not as religious.

Father Molyneux had, as his first official act, to appoint a Master of Novices to form the new members who had been waiting eagerly for a long time to be admitted into the Society. His first choice fell on Father Charles Neale whom he appointed at the same time vice-Superior for St. Mary's and Charles Counties, and Superior of the St. Thomas Mission Center, seven miles from Port Tobacco and the Carmelite Monastery.

These two fathers (Molyneux and Charles Neale) had been among the most active of all those who strove for the restoration of the Society from the day that Father Neale arrived from Belgium with the Carmelite nuns. Father Molyneux had a high regard for Father Neale's spirituality and his fitness for the position of Master. Bishop Carroll trusted implicitly the prudence and wisdom of Father Molyneux, and the excellence of his judgment, and he often sought his counsel. Father Kohlmann, too, lived under Father Molyneux as Superior, praised the soundness of his judgment. This would indicate that he made no mistake when he chose Father Neale to train the young novices. Furthermore, the General showed the same confidence in Father Molyneux's wisdom when later he approved his choice of Father Neale to succeed him as Superior of the Mission.

However as the good chaplain of the Carmelites had

not only donated and founded their monastery but was also its mainstay from the first, had he been removed from Port Tobacco to Georgetown, or to wherever the novitiate would be established, the monastery in the opinion of Bishop Carroll could hardly have subsisted. He was needed quite as much for its material as for its spiritual maintenance. It was, in fact, only three years after the time in question that a series of law-suits began, first against Father Neale and then against the monastery. These suits were brought by the heirs of Mr. Brooke from whom the nuns acquired the title to their property. It was fortunate that Father Neale was on hand and free to conduct the defense. Only after his death was the case finally closed and in favor of the nuns. Roger Brooke Taney, the future Chief Justice, was their counsel. The Carmelites appealed first to Father Molyneux when the appointment of their chaplain as Master of Novices was made known to them. They pleaded that he be allowed to remain and they begged Bishop Carroll to intercede. It is certain that but for the Bishop's intercession Father Molyneux would have insisted; he declared he had no other so well suited for the post. Mother Clare Joseph, the Prioress, suggested that the novitiate might be located at a convenient distance from the monastery so that Father Neale might continue to direct her community. But Bishop Carroll disapproved of this, pointing to the anti-Catholic attitude in this country as making such an arrangement unwise. It was then that Father Neale's brother, Francis, was named for the position, though he had never been a novice himself. As he was Procurator of the Mission and making his own novice-ship at the same time, Father Anthony Kohlmann was appointed to be his socius or Assistant Master. Being a theologian of distinguished ability and a man of great prudence and experience, the latter gave most of the conferences to the novices.* Father Kohlmann had been sent by the General in Russia after repeated

* Father Charles was to be consulted when the time came for the novices to be admitted to the vows.

appeals from Bishops Carroll and Neale for recruits for the newly established Mission, and he came with four others who had entered the Russian Province. He figured prominently for the next twenty years in the most important affairs of the Mission and was responsible for much of the progress of the Society and the Church in Maryland, Pennsylvania and New York during that critical period. From 1808 until 1815 he was Administrator and Vicar General of the Diocese of New York, inasmuch as Doctor Concanen of the Dominicans, New York's first Bishop, had died at Naples when about to sail for America. Father Kohlmann would have succeeded to the See had not Father General dissuaded the Pope from appointing him. When Dr. Connolly was named, Father Kohlmann was recalled to Maryland and left Father Benedict Fenwick, the future Bishop of Boston, in charge. He was immediately appointed Master of Novices at the novitiate in Whitemarsh, which post he held until 1817. For the four years following he was Superior of the entire Mission.

Bishop Carroll after resigning to Father Molyneux his authority over the newly established Jesuits as their spiritual Superior, wished to have a clear understanding between his own rule as Ordinary and that of Father Molyneux, the Jesuit. He therefore drew up an agreement bearing the date September 20, 1805, which was intended to be binding on them and their respective successors. It dealt with two matters about which much controversy was to arise during the next twenty-five years, especially during the two terms of Father Neale as Superior; namely the exercise of jurisdiction of Bishops over the Jesuits and the right of the Bishops of Baltimore to the Jesuit properties. There was no question as to the source of faculties which regulars as well as seculars required in their pastoral ministrations; that needed no definition. But Bishop Carroll wished to select the priests and appoint their assignment. If no objection were made by the Corporation of Roman Catholic Clergymen which repre-

sented the former Jesuits and held the property for the Society, all the priests in the diocese were to be supported from the income of the Corporation properties; otherwise they were to get their support from the congregations which they served. In fact, this matter of clergy sustenance had already been provided for in the Constitution of the Select Body of Clergy. Besides the Bishop was to receive a pension or annuity from the same source, the Corporation's revenues. The agreement further called for harmonious cooperation between the parties to it, as the Bishop had counseled when he named Father Molyneux Superior.

Though this document was signed by both the Bishop and the Superior, theologians like Father Kohlmann declared it invalid. Impartial historians after examining the facts have done the same. First because numerous erasures were made in the document. Again, it was never executed in form nor was it validly sealed and witnessed. More important still, Father Molyneux had not been authorized by the General to make such a contract. Father General Fortis expressly emphasized this last point when, in the later controversy with Archbishop Marechal, a clean copy, purporting to be a true copy but without signatures, was produced by the third Archbishop of Baltimore.

Father Molyneux was sixty-seven years of age when in 1805 he was appointed to the post of Superior. He had entered the Society in 1757 and spent thirty-seven years of his life in missionary labors. He died December 9, 1808, after naming Father Charles Neale as his successor, pending the confirmation of the appointment by Very Reverend Father Brzozowski. This was given September 13, 1809. Bishop Carroll had found Father Molyneux rather easy-going; but his lack of energy was doubtless due to his long years of the hardest kind of missionary labor and to his age, for he had passed the "three score and ten" when death came. Father John McElroy, first a coadjutor brother and then a priest, who had been received by Father Molyneux among the first novices in 1806 and who died at the

venerable age of 95, having spent 71 years in the Society, said he was a "truly holy and venerable man, accomplished in all sacred and polite literature" and a former professor of Bishop Carroll when a student of philosophy in the Scholasticate at Liége. Next to Father Plowden he was the Bishop's "best and oldest friend."

Father Neale entered on his new duties as Superior December 9, 1808, though a year and more elapsed before the letter of Father General confirming his appointment reached him at Port Tobacco. He was then in his fifty-eighth year. The General wished him to relinquish his chaplaincy and take up his residence at Georgetown or some other central place. His Paternity seemed to be under the impression that Father Neale lived in the monastery, whereas he had his own separate residence clearly outside of the enclosed monastery grounds. As such a chaplaincy did not accord with the Institute of the Society, the General asked Bishop Carroll to assign a secular priest as chaplain to the nuns. However he left it to the decision of the consultors, three of whom he now appointed for the Mission, viz., Fathers Kohlmann, Grassi and Epinette. These, with Bishop Carroll, approved of the Superior continuing as Chaplain, no doubt for the same reasons which had earlier prevented him from leaving Port Tobacco to become Master of Novices.

Both at this time of partial restoration and again after the Bull of Pius VII in 1814 had fully restored the Society, Father Plowden urged Bishop Carroll to join his former brethren and reenter the Society. To some it might seem strange that neither he nor Bishop Neale, his coadjutor, took the step. Bishop Carroll wrote to Father Stone, the English Superior, in August, 1805, about the matter:

> "The example of the good Bishop of Verona (who had reentered) is a lesson for Bishop Neale and myself to meditate on; and it has indeed . . . been often a subject of consideration with me whether I ought to petition the Pope to resign and resume my former state. My bishopric, as you

know, gives me no worldly advantage and is very burdensome. Can I promote the honor of God more by relinquishing than by retaining it? Into whose hands could the Diocese be committed who would not, perhaps, thwart the reestablishment of the Society, and oppose a reinvestment in it of the property formerly possessed and still so providentially retained? These considerations have hitherto held my Coadjutor and myself from coming to a resolution of re-entering the Society."

He wrote in the same strain, January 15, 1815, to Father Plowden who had expressed a wish that all the old members would now return to the embrace of their beloved mother, the Society:

"Concerning Bishop Neale and myself, it seems to us that till more is known of the mind of our rulers, it might not be for the interest of our brethren, even if His Holiness would allow us to vacate our Sees, to expose their concerns to successors, unfriendly perhaps or liable to be imposed on by malicious misrepresentations. The matter, however, has not yet received my full consideration."

The sequel proved that his fears were not without foundation.

There never was any disagreement between Father Neale and Bishop Carroll in regard to temporalities before or after the creation of the Archdiocese of Baltimore. They both knew perfectly well the status of the Corporation of Roman Catholic Clergymen, that it was formed as the only possible means of holding the property of the Society intact and returning it to the Jesuits as soon as the decree of Clement XIV would be repealed. The Corporation functioned as usual and the Bishop received the annuity voted him by the Chapter of Representatives. The Bull creating him Bishop of Baltimore contained the customary clause giving him power in temporalities, viz., "to administer ecclesiastical incomes," meaning diocesan property. But as the properties invested in the Corporation were to the Bishop's certain knowledge not diocesan, there was no cause for a dispute or disagreement in their regard. Nevertheless grave fears were entertained by the few remaining former Jesuits lest the Society's property

might be lost either through escheat proceedings on the part of the State or by the action of non-Jesuit priests living on the Mission properties and deriving their support from the same.

The danger increased as the restoration of the Society was delayed. We have already seen that the Jesuits were anxious about Bishop Carroll's course of action regarding the restoration. They wished him to take more active measures to obtain a Brief from the Holy See—if not the total annulment of the Bull of Suppression, then at least such canonical establishment as that enjoyed by the Jesuits in Russia. Father Francis Neale, agent of the Corporation and Procurator of the Jesuit properties blamed the Bishop for what he called excessive caution, and there was real cause for his anxiety. The number of secular priests and ex-religious coming into the country from Europe was growing rapidly while the ranks of the former Jesuits who held title to the properties were being reduced by death. Because the Jesuit majority in the Select Body and the Corporation might not continue there was evident danger of losing the properties so essential to the support and development of the Society's work both missionary and educational.

But the Bishop had his reasons for proceeding with caution. His every move, as he said, was watched by the non-Jesuit clergy. He was suspected and accused of partiality both as to clerical appointments and financial allowances. He and Bishop Neale were now members of the Corporation and serious trouble arose when a priest named Bitouzey, from Normandy, who had been admitted into the Corporation and given charge of the Whitemarsh mission and property, refused to yield possession and threatened a lawsuit.

Bishop Carroll was embarrassed by similar threats from other directions and longed for the realization of "that happy prospect" when the Society would be fully restored to its rights. He later defended his course in a letter to Father Grassi, October 25, 1813, being

prompted by this hostile attitude of not a few of the clergy to the Society and its restoration: "It must be a warning," he wrote, "to us who love and wish for the reestablishment of the Society with due canonical authority and a formal derogation of the lamentable Brief of Clement XIV, to proceed with the utmost legal caution lest that happy event should meet with unexpected and perhaps insuperable difficulties." Pius VII, too, had fears of opposition from the enemies of the Order should there be any outward display until the time would be ripe for complete restoration. He had to restrain Blessed Joseph Pignatelli and his companions from wearing the habit or showing any other outward sign of membership outside of Russia. Friendly as was this venerable Pontiff he could do little for the Society while a captive of Napoleon. But he was providentially spared to revoke at last the Brief of Clement XIV.

(*to be continued*)

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH
OF
ST. ALOYSIUS' PARISH
LITTLESTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA

EDWARD A. RYAN, S.J.

Littlestown's Catholicism is an offshoot of that of Conewago, Pennsylvania. Conewago, although scarcely more than a name now outside of its immediate vicinity, played an important part in the early history of the Church in Pennsylvania and even in the United States. From it the Catholic Faith was spread throughout Adams, York, Lancaster, Cumberland and Franklin Counties. As the late Rev. H. G. Ganss, historian of St. Patrick's Parish in Carlisle, wrote: "Conewago during the first half century of Catholicity in Pennsylvania reflected and focalized Catholic life; it was the asylum of the emigrant priest, no matter to what nationality or religious order he belonged; it was the center from which Catholic life radiated. All who came for the Pennsylvania missions outside of Philadelphia reported at Conewago; for there they received their instructions and credentials, and only as the credited agents of Conewago did they receive the respect and homage of Catholics."

It is not improbable that Conewago was the earliest Catholic settlement in Pennsylvania and that Father Greaton, S.J., resided there before becoming Philadelphia's first resident priest. Jesuits had come to Maryland in 1634 and it was from the Jesuit Missions in Maryland that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Faith spread to nearby States. Indeed until the Mason and Dixon line was surveyed in the sixties of the eighteenth century it was not clear to

* On July 6, 1942, St. Aloysius' Parish celebrated the sesquicentennial of its existence as a Parish. The Most Rev. George L. Leech, Bishop of Harrisburg, presided and the sermon was preached by the Rev. Anthony J. McMullen, S.J., of Woodstock College.

all that Conewago and Germany townships were not a part of Maryland. Littlestown is situated in Germany township two miles north of the boundary between the States. The Church at Conewago, which is the first in the United States dedicated to the Sacred Heart, was erected by Father James Pellentz in 1787.

Littlestown is one of the oldest of Conewago's missions. The settlement goes back to 1734. The original inhabitants are said to have been German Lutherans but Maryland Catholics arrived about the same time and some Irish immigrants also found their way to Littlestown. The Catholic was the town's first religious organization.

Holy Mass was celebrated in private homes for some years before a Church was opened. McSherry writes that as early as 1784 a small building had been obtained for a church. If this is true it was a temporary measure because in February, 1791, the trustees of the Roman Catholic Congregation of Littlestown, which was then called Petersburg, purchased property on which stood a hotel. This structure was promptly remodeled and dedicated to Almighty God as a Catholic Church under the invocation of St. Aloysius Gonzaga, patron of youth. Patrick McSherry, Matthias Baker, Henry O'Hara and Joseph Flauth were the trustees who arranged the purchase.

The Mission Church

1791-1884

The history of St. Aloysius' Congregation may be divided into two periods. The first of ninety-three years extends from 1791 to 1884. During this near-century the Congregation had no resident pastor but was served by the priests who resided at Conewago Chapel, six or seven miles away. As a rule one of the priests of Conewago regularly cared for Littlestown. During the second period (1884-1942), Littlestown has been an independent parish with its own pastor.

During the first period the history of the Church in

Littlestown was to a great extent the history of Catholicism in Conewago. Since Conewago was an important link in the nineteenth century Jesuit organization in America, its history is also bound up with that of the American Jesuits. It is true that in 1791 and for fourteen years thereafter the Society of Jesus was nonexistent in America. Suppressed in 1773, it was not restored here until 1805. Most of the Conewago clergymen who served Littlestown before 1805 had, however, been members of the Society of Jesus. From 1805 to 1884, they were almost without exception Jesuits.

Father James Pellentz, who has already been referred to as builder of the church at Conewago, was the founder of St. Aloysius' Parish, Littlestown. Born in Germany in 1727, he joined the Jesuit Order in 1744 and in 1760 after his ordination came as missionary to Maryland. Shortly after his arrival, he was sent to Conewago. His life was that of a pioneer priest while his field of labor embraced Frederick and Hagerstown in Maryland as well as Conewago, Carlisle and Lancaster in Pennsylvania. Although Littlestown was but a corner of his vineyard, he visited it frequently before 1791 and in that year, as we have seen, had the consolation of seeing the transformation of the purchased hotel into St. Aloysius' Church. The memory of Father Pellentz was long held in benediction in Littlestown as that of a generous and zealous priest who spent himself in incessant and successful labors to preserve the faith among pioneer Americans.

The best known of Littlestown's early priests was Prince Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin whose father was for many years ambassador of Russia at the Hague. In 1787 at the age of seventeen the young prince became a Catholic. While on a visit to America he entered the seminary at Baltimore in 1792 and was ordained three years later, taking the name of "Mr. Smith." Father Gallitzin assisted Father Pellentz at Conewago from 1795 to 1799 and during this period served Littlestown as well as other missions.

In 1800 this pious priest commenced his memorable and arduous labors at Loretto where he spent himself and his fortune in building up the Church in what is now the diocese of Altoona.

Another early pastor of noble birth was Father Adolphus Louis de Barth Walbach, a German. Father de Barth labored at various places in the United States and was for a time Vicar General of Bishop Egan of Philadelphia. When the latter died, de Barth became administrator but refused the proffered see.

Father Michael Dougherty, S.J., was for a number of years pastor of Littlestown. A native of Ireland, he was ordained in Maryland in 1826 and spent many years in attending the Conewago missions. In 1840 under his administration St. Aloysius' Congregation was incorporated. In the following year a brick church was erected on the site where the present church stands and the old church was sold. The trustees at the time were Henry Spalding, John Shorb, Dr. Shorb, Jacob Rider, J. Rider, Joseph Riddlemoser, Joseph Fink, Jacob Baumgartner and James McSherry.

The most beloved of all the Jesuit pastors of St. Aloysius was probably Father Francis X. De Neckere who served the Church from 1849 to 1854, from 1857 to 1859, and from 1861 to 1879. Father De Neckere was a native of the diocese of Bruges and became a Jesuit in 1844. Three years later we find him at Conewago where he proved himself the devoted servant of the poor, the sick, and the desolate. During his years at Littlestown a fine brick school house was built and a parish school was opened in 1867. A free circulating library was also established to encourage the older people in their efforts for spiritual and intellectual self-improvement. Early in January, 1879, Father De Neckere drove from Conewago to Littlestown through icy rain. Although he was able to say Sunday Mass the next day pneumonia set in and four days later the beloved pastor was dead.

Father De Neckere was succeeded by Father George Villiger, S.J., who in 1882 gave way to Father Ignatius

Renaud, the last Jesuit priest to minister regularly to the Catholics of Littlestown. At the time of the transfer to the diocesan cleregy the trustees were: Joseph L. Shorb, John F. McSherry, E. F. Shorb, James G. Spalding, William Rider, William Kuhns and Pius P. Fink.

During the ninety-three years and more during which they had ministered to the Catholics of Littlestown, the Fathers of the Society of Jesus had established a flourishing Congregation. In the course of those nine decades, St. Aloysius' had outgrown the status of a mission church, the special care of the Jesuit missionary, and was ready to become a parish under the Ordinary of the diocese.

St. Aloysius' Parish
1884-1942

As early as 1844, while Littlestown was still in the diocese of Philadelphia, there had been question of the transfer of the church to the diocesan clergy. This was not effected at the time owing to a dearth of priests. The diocese of Harrisburg was established in 1868 with Bishop Jeremiah F. Shanahan as the first Ordinary. In 1882 Bishop Shanahan visited Littlestown and confirmed a class of thirty-three. The following year, in August, Reverend James J. Gormley began his ministrations to the Littlestown congregation, while retaining his parish of Bonneauville. This arrangement was but temporary and in March, 1885, Father Thomas Joseph Crotty, a native of Pennsylvania and a very zealous priest, became first resident pastor of St. Aloysius' Church. Under his energetic direction the face of the parish was soon changed. A fine parochial residence was constructed. The present cemetery was bought and the bodies from the old graveyard were reinterred. Finally in 1892, owing to the munificence of Miss Joanna Rider, who had also contributed substantially toward the erection of the residence, Father Crotty was able to tear down

the Church which Father Dougherty had erected and build the present church. William McSherry, historian of St. Aloysius' Church, writes of the laying of the cornerstone by Bishop McGovern: "It was the grandest occasion Littlestown ever saw, about five thousand persons being present."

Father Crotty spent fourteen years at Littlestown. Like a true shepherd he watched over his flock with fatherly solicitude, accomplishing much which was visible to the eyes of men and much more which was hidden but which brought down God's blessing on his flock. After leaving Littlestown, Father Crotty served parishes in Gettysburg, Centralia and Lancaster, earning everywhere the reputation of a zealous and prudent pastor of souls.

The successors of Father Crotty at Littlestown have maintained the high standard he set. The short term of office of his immediate successor, now the Right Reverend M. M. Hassett, made many great developments impossible. The worthy and humble priest Father Germanus Kohl, who served St. Aloysius' from 1899 to 1909, was enabled by the generosity of Mrs. Mary A. Kuhns to acquire a building for a convent and to enlarge and improve the old school of 1867. More important still on September 10, 1901, three Sisters of Charity arrived from Emmitsburg, Md., to take charge of the parochial school which up to that time had been taught by lay instructors. The Sisters of Charity retained charge of St. Aloysius' School until 1921, when they were replaced by the Sisters of Mercy who still conduct the school. Reverend Edward J. O'Flynn, pastor from 1924 to 1932, purchased an old church building which was razed to the ground and erected on the site the present modernly equipped St. Aloysius' School and Auditorium. They were dedicated in 1926 by Bishop Philip R. McDevitt.

St. Aloysius' is now a flourishing parish of one hundred and forty-three families and four hundred and ninety-two members. In 1941 twenty children were baptised. In 1942 twelve children made their First

Holy Communion. The last confirmation class (1940) numbered twenty-seven. Adult converts last year numbered three. There are ninety-nine children in the parish school and twelve attend Delone High School.

Parish organizations are numerous and well supported. The Sodality of the Blessed Virgin numbers one hundred and thirty members while the Holy Name Society has ninety-seven. The Tabernacle and Sanctuary Society, the League of the Sacred Heart, the Angel Sodality, and St. Aloysius Beneficial are also established in the parish. Troops of Boy and Girl Scouts are likewise connected with St. Aloysius' Church.

The parish has given twelve of its daughters to the religious life and at least six of its sons to the priesthood. The Right Reverend Charles Buddy, Bishop of San Diego, was born of an old St. Aloysius family.

The history of the century and a half of organized Catholicism in Littlestown teaches a lesson of faith and confidence in God. St. Aloysius' Parish has had a by no means inglorious part in the development of the American Catholic Church, which is one of the brightest pages in the history of the Church Universal during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Catholics of Littlestown face the future with confidence. St. Aloysius will continue to intercede for them. The Good Shepherd will not fail his Littlestown flock and by his grace Littlestown Catholics will not fail the Sacred Heart. "By the power of God you are guarded through faith for salvation which is ready to be revealed in the last time." (I Peter 1, 5.)

LIST OF PRIESTS AT ST. ALOYSIUS

1. James Pellentz, S.J., 1784-1800
2. Stanislaus Cerfoumont, 1791-1804
3. Paul Dominic Erntzen, 1791-1793
4. Francis X. Brosius, S.J., 1792-1804
5. Demetrius A. Gallitrin, 1797-1799
6. Louis de Barth, 1804-1828
7. Nicholas Mertz, 1803-1805, 1826-1829

8. Francis Roloff, 1808-1810
9. Adam Marshall, S.J., 1817-1819
10. Matthew Lekeu, S.J., 1817-1843
11. Maximilian Rantzau, S.J., 1818
12. Vincent Philip Mayerhoffer, 1819
13. P. J. Dwin, 1822
14. Adam Britt, S.J., 1822
15. William O'Brien, S.J., 1824
16. Michael Dougherty, S.J., 1828-1843, 1854-1855
17. C. Paul Kohlman, S.J., 1828-1835
18. Ferdinand Helias, S.J., 1834-1835.
19. Nicholas Steinbacher, S.J., 1839
20. Milesius Gibbons, S.J., 1847-1849
21. J. Roger Dietz, S.J., 1843-1849
22. F. X. Kendeler, 1843-1845
23. George Villiger, S.J., 1855-1856, 1879-1882
24. F. X. DeNeckere, S.J., 1849-1854, 1857-1859, 1861-1879
25. Ernest Reiter, S.J., 1856-1858
26. Peter Manns, S.J., 1859-1863
27. Ignatius Renaud, S.J., 1882-1884
28. James J. Gormley, 1884-1885
29. Thomas J. Crotty, 1885-1899
30. Maurice M. Hassett, 1899
31. Germanus Kohl, 1899-1909
32. Hugh A. Logue, 1909-1913
33. William J. O'Callaghan, 1913-1924
34. Edward J. O'Flynn, 1924-1932
35. John H. Melchior, 1932-1939
36. Joseph N. Whalen, 1939-1941
37. John H. Weber, 1941-

(*Continued from the last issue*)

AN APOSTLE OF EUROPE
FATHER JAMES LAYNEZ, S.J. (1512-1565)

CHARLES W. REINHARDT, S.J.

III

Italian Missions

Upon the suspension of the Council Laynez received word from the Pope to proceed immediately to the Duchess of Tuscany at Florence. Leaving Bologna on June 17, 1547, he arrived at Florence the following day and received a hearty welcome from Father Frusius and Jerome Otello. Dusty and fatigued by the journey, Laynez made a poor impression on the Duchess who asked him bluntly when Laynez would arrive. He simply replied that he was Laynez sent to her by the Pope and Ignatius at her own request. To cover her embarrassment the Duchess sent for a servant to show Laynez to his apartment. Enjoying the situation, Laynez excused hiself saying that he had already arranged for lodgings at the Inn of St. Paul where his two brother Jesuits had been living. It was not until after the Duchess had been consoled by her confessor, an old Dominican, that she was half convinced that she had not been deceived by the accounts of Laynez' learning and eloquence. When Laynez preached in the Church of St. John the Baptist the next day, the Duchess was fully satisfied.

At Florence he did his usual work of preaching, hearing confessions, inculcating almsgiving and urging restitution. His sermon on the tears of Mary Magdalen touched the hearts of many Magdalens of Florence and converted them from a life of sin. More than eight thousand people attended Laynez' Lenten course in the Cathedral.

Won by Laynez, Florence offered him six or seven

sites for a Jesuit college but he rejected them all as being unsuited for his purpose. At the urging of the people, the Duke promised to found a college at Pisa.

At the request of Cardinal de Medici, he went to Perugia where he reformed convents of nuns and preached to the people. Such was the impression he made at this time, that years later a college was founded by his friends in Perugia. On his return to Florence, he stayed for a time at Montepulciano at the invitation of Cardinal Cervini. He was back again in Florence for the Advent course and worked there until the next January. He worked in Siena for three weeks in January reforming convents, helping in the hospitals, preaching and hearing confessions. He returned to Florence to make arrangements with the Duke for the proposed college in Pisa.

In the meantime all was not going smoothly with the college at Padua. On April 6, 1546, Pope Paul III at the request of Lippomano had issued a Bull transferring the income of the benefice of the Priory of St. Magdalen to the Society to support the Jesuit scholastics studying at the University of Padua. On April 25th Laynez took spiritual possession of the benefice before a notary and witnesses at Padua. Then the difficulty arose. Laynez was told that he could not take the rents or other temporal goods of the benefice until the consent of the Senate of the Republic of Venice had been obtained.

John, the brother of Andrea Lippomano, had his eye on that benefice for his sons. He did everything possible to prevent the Society of Jesus from receiving a favorable decision. He even went to the length of having a pamphlet written attacking the morals of the Jesuits at Padua. Delay after delay set in and it seemed that the business would never come up for a vote. Commissioned by Ignatius to handle the affair, Laynez worked five months to overcome the opposition. Finally he decided to go before the Doge, Francis Donato, and plead his cause before him and his Council. His plea must have been brilliant for before

he finished his audience listened eagerly and approved. They asked for a copy of his speech which was to be presented to the whole Senate. But again the matter was pigeon-holed and things looked hopeless for Laynez. Ignatius had Masses said and eight days later the business was proposed in the Venetian Senate. The Society of Jesus received 143 favorable votes out of 145. After the vindication of the Society's rights, Ignatius wrote to Andrea Lippomano offering his nephews a liberal yearly allowance from the benefice. Andrea, however, would not hear of it and endowed his brother and nephews out of his own fortune.

After the Venetian venture Laynez was called to Rome towards the end of October, 1548. In a few days he was journeying south at the request of Cardinal Alexander Farnese. His mission was to reform the Cardinal's archdiocese of Monreale in Sicily. After performing his usual priestly work for a month in Naples, he was graciously received by the Viceroy, John de Vega, at Palermo in February, 1549. He began to preach the Lenten course but on the third day collapsed in the pulpit from illness and fatigue. He rested for a while at Monreale and when recuperated preached to the prisoners and begged alms for them. He also saw to the endowment of the hospital for the Incurables and the foundation of a college by the Viceroy. In the meantime he sought and awaited apostolic Briefs empowering him to reform the Sicilian monasteries.

After Lent, Laynez preached in Palermo on Sundays and feast-days, spending the rest of his time at Monreale making the difficult visitation of the diocese. A long-standing controversy, which no one had been able to settle, existed there between the regular and secular clergy. Laynez finally workd out an agreement which was satisfactory to all concerned, including the Archbishop. In the course of his visitation he met a very difficult Abbess of whom her community wished to be rid. She changed her mind constantly about relinquishing her position but Laynez finally

had his way. In the meantime he gave exhortations to the nuns and disposed them for reform and for the reception of Holy Communion. The apostolic Briefs arrived and he was empowered to do what he thought best for the clergy and laity; to change the Suffragan; to receive alms for the alleviation of clergy, orphans, and hospitals. The Viceroy, who idolized Laynez, gave him full secular support in all his undertakings. Thus Laynez, in the fulfillment of this mission, performed all the duties from those of a bishop to those of a parish priest.

IV

Military Chaplain In Africa

In the summer of 1550 Laynez made his first and only trip to Africa. A notorious and enterprising pirate named Dragut had been raising such havoc along the coast of Sicily that Charles V determined to wipe out the pirate crew in their stronghold on the African shore at Aphrodisias. The Viceroy, John de Vega, and Andrea Doria were ordered to arrange and command the expedition. Laynez was appointed chaplain of the fleet with the military hospital as his special charge. In the meantime he wrote to Ignatius to obtain from Pope Julius III the jubilee indulgence for all the soldiers. A strong combined Sicilian, Papal, Florentine and Maltese fleet set sail from Sicily and landed eventually at Aphrodisias without any resistance from Dragut. Laynez oversaw the building of the hospital, which was soon crowded with fever-stricken and dying soldiers. Laynez was nurse, doctor, and priest to these men, washing their clothes, feeding them, sitting up nights with them, hearing their confessions, preparing them for death and finally burying from two to three hundred who had succumbed to the fever.

The news of the jubilee indulgence was announced amid the blares of trumpets the day before the assault.

Laynez took this occasion to preach a sermon. He heard confessions night and day preparing the men for battle. The city was attacked and taken on September 10 and on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, September 14, Mass was celebrated in a Mohammedan mosque renamed for St. John the Baptist. The fleet embarked and after a stormy voyage landed in Italy. Laynez was the darling of the soldiers who spread his fame throughout southern Italy. And he was justly looked upon as the soul of the army. He refused to accept any part of the spoils and carried out every dying wish of the soldiers regarding the disposition of their belongings.

In 1551, at the request of the Duchess Eleonora, Laynez returned to Pisa where he preached on Sundays and festivals, and drew thousands to confession. He attracted the poor and the children to his catechism classes by giving them alms and presents. It was from the midst of these humble labors that he was summoned back to Trent as Papal theologian.

V

Second Phase of the Council of Trent

From Pisa he travelled to Bologna where he stopped and preached for two days, one at the monastery of the Camaldolese and the other at their hermitage. Thence he journeyed to Ferrara where he remained one day. On July 19 he wrote, probably from Venice, telling Ignatius of his journey through Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, and Venice visiting the colleges in each city and preaching with great fruit to a large congregation in Florence. The Duchess wished to have Laynez attend the Council as her husband's theologian and to live there at her expense. Laynez explained that he was the Pope's theologian and declined her generous offer of hospitality for himself and Salmerón at Trent.[48]

On July 27, Laynez and Salmerón arrived on the

[48] *Epistolae Lainii*, Venice (?), July 19, 1551, vol. I, p. 191 f.

scene for the second phase of the great Council. The following letter addressed to Ignatius shows much of the saintly, and at the same time, very human character of Laynez. It was written on August 11, 1551:[49]

In order to have something definite to write about, I shall inform your Reverence of all that befell us on our arrival here and in our subsequent search for lodgings. My purpose is not to tell tales about anyone,—except about ourselves,—but to let you know the truth, in case you have heard a different account in Rome.

When we arrived here, the very reverend Legate met and greeted us with all kindliness, to be sure, so far as we can judge. For, even before our arrival, he had spoken to many prelates about our coming and had shown himself quite happy over it. They, too, gave him information about us and had many fine things to say as we have been told by all concerned. So, when we arrived here, he told us that he would give the two of us a room in his house for the present, and that lodgings would be sought for us at once, which he hoped to find in the vicinity so that he might enjoy more of our company. His most reverend lordship told us that he wanted us to take our meals with him, with the understanding that he would allow us to dine at our own dwelling when we should so desire. We kissed his hand and took our leave.

Afterwards, it appears, the secretary of the Council, (Angelo Massarelli), must have spoken with him and told him that he himself would give us lodging until the other place could be had. For he took us to his house and told us we should stay there just for that night rather than at the inn. The room he offered the three of us was a very tiny, stove of a room, filthy with smoke. It was furnished with a bed and a trundle-bed, which could be rolled out from under the regular bed, and there then were scarcely two square yards of empty floor-space. Besides having no table where one could study or write a letter, the room boasted a lone foot-stool and was cluttered with many shoes belonging to the master and his servant-boy, with a huge trunk, an old harp and one of the servant's swords which held the place of honor in said stove.

"Well" I said to Master Salmerón: "Now look, this arrangement is going to last longer than you think. So let us stay at the inn and tomorrow, on the way to the palace, I'll tell him we decided to stop at the inn to avoid

[49] *Ibid.*, Trent, August 11, 1551, vol. I, pp. 192-196.

continually moving, since, as he himself said, it was a question of only one night."

Salmerón thought we should be careful not to show any disappointment or contempt for the chamber and that we had better resign ourselves to our little stove despite the heat. And so, he slept the night through on top of a chest while John and I took to the beds. But thereafter he went off to the neighboring house of the bishop of Verona for his night's rest, while John and I continued to sleep in that stove in order to avoid the appearance of a mass desertion, even though the bishop had extended a like invitation to me.

Once the secretary of the Legate came and asked if we needed anything. With my wonted frankness or silliness, I replied: "Take a look. We need everything." When he went on to say: "That is true, but what do you need right now?" I replied: "We must have a candle, at least, to light our way to bed." "And what else?" he asked. I began to laugh. "A candlestick to put it into," I answered. That night the candle could not be had because the janitor had gone off somewhere. However, we did make some headway, for we lighted our way to bed with a torch.

Several days went by, possibly a week, and we had paid our visits to nearly everyone. So, we went and begged the Cardinal to give us lodgings, because everyone was asking us where we were staying and many, even prelates, wanted to come to visit us. And we maintained that it did not seem right to receive them where we then lived. His answer was that we must not doubt that he would give us a place to stay, but that the owner of the place he had in mind was away. As soon as the gentleman returned, he would quickly get the lodgings for us. The owner came back in three or four days and was willing to rent the place, but since the lodgings had neither doors nor windows, he demanded ten ducats advance rent in order to finish the building. When he came to the secretary of the Council and asked for the money, in my presence, the secretary replied sharply that he was a terrible man, etc.

After he left, I said to the secretary: "You might as well have given him the money since, after all, it will be deducted from the rent, and does not amount to much anyway." Then he said: "What do you think those pigeon-holes will be worth per month?" exaggerating the expense that would be met in taking those rooms for us.

"Thereupon I spoke with a show of anger: "Money is being spent for everyone who comes to this Council. Do you think such a great deal is being spent for us? Can't

you see we do not get bread for nothing and we work as hard as anyone else? The Pope knows this too, and that is why he sent us. And now you have acted in a way that does not make head or tail, receiving two priests, the Pope's own envoys, in your servant's quarters, in such a room indeed that I am astonished at you. And since it is not your own money you are spending, you ought to spend it as the Pope has ordered and keep us no longer where you have us now. For Salmerón had to sleep on a box the first night and was unwilling to sleep there again. I would have left likewise, but did not want to make a show of your shortcomings. But I give you my word, I am telling the Cardinal how we are faring and am writing to Rome about it."

This is the substance, rather a fully detailed report, of what I said in anger. The good man must have been shocked and I hear he mentioned the matter to the Cardinal. To placate Master Angelo, the secretary of the Council, and also the Cardinal, I saw the latter in Master Angelo's presence after supper. With no feeling of anger, I laughingly recounted all that had taken place, not blaming Master Angelo but rather my own anger and flippant tongue, although certainly my anger seems and seemed then to be justified; and for that reason, I spoke of the thing to the Cardinal. Yet his most reverend lordship, prepared by Master Angelo, began by swearing to us that his apparent lack of interest had been caused, not by any unwillingness to provide us with lodgings, but by the house-owner's unexpected departure.

He went on to excuse Master Angelo, reminding us that, since we were wont to preach patience to others, it was a good idea for us to practice it ourselves. Then I told him very truthfully that I had acted thus, not to escape any suffering, having spent three months of the past year under a tent in Africa where I bore the heat of the day and the chill of the night, and had kept happy and merry in that stove, but because it was most unbecoming that we should have no accommodations for the study required in preaching, for reading or for doing anything, nor a place to receive even such ones as he had sent to us, or his most reverend lordship, or the others of the Council who wished to visit us. And I told him sincerely and with no qualms of conscience that we had revealed our displeasure to no one other than his reverend self and Master Angelo: and that if in aught I had done wrong, he should give me a penance and I would gladly perform it, to the end that he no longer harbor any ill feeling not only towards the Society, but

even towards us. Also that if the Council took place, he would see in time our fidelity to him and the desire we have of serving him in every good way within our power.

The outcome was that we remained frank and friendly and I at least had the pleasure of telling him a mouthful.

The following day, seeing that the business of the house-renting was making no progress, for the owner had gone away again, and that the rest of the house was full of the Cardinal's entourage, besides having no chapel, and seeing also that we were continually face-to-face with Master Angelo, we went to visit our former host. We begged him to give us our old lodgings for a monthly consideration, which he did very gladly, even offering them gratis. But because we have a real need of them and he has given us three beds and keeps the place well washed and decently arranged, we have seen to it that he receives three scudi per month. And so the most reverend cardinal has been satisfied completely and has given us his kind permission to come here, after we had agreed to go and dine with him at least once a week. His most reverend lordship gives us an abundance of bread and wine from his own house. He has them give us ten scudi a month from the Pope's account, of which we ask three for rent and seven for other things, since the cost of living at Trent is higher than formerly.

In addition, they offer us whatever else we need in the way of clothes, etc., because the Cardinal does not want us to take a thing from anyone else. That was the way we did with Cardinal Cervini and we shall do so now. So that after all the misunderstanding we are finally at peace.

We came to this place four days ago, after being in the above mentioned stove for eleven or twelve days. . . . The affairs of the Council are so dead just now that we believe neither the master of Prussia nor others will come. And certainly, things being the way they are, it seems we would be better off anywhere else than here, if it is the good of souls we are looking to, because in all other respects we are only too well off. Let this suffice and more than suffice for my inventory.

We wanted to write to your Reverence not to reveal our vexation towards anyone, for, surely, we no longer feel any, but that you might know the facts and avail yourself of them in case someone here might have addressed complaints to you, which we doubt. And also because my disposition is such that I should have no peace unless I acquainted you with my fault, for which your Reverence can send me some penance. Though I certainly felt hardly a scruple over the

thing itself, yet I did not want to offend anyone in any way at the Council. This has been my fault, if fault it was. From Trent, August 11, 1551.

Laynez.

Since here there is not much to write about and we are in Germany, and the Fathers of Venice and Padua have orders to write every fortnight, we will follow the same direction and do likewise, understanding that letters should be written when necessary, though it be many times a week.

The sight of Laynez and Salmerón cheered the gloomy outlook for the Council's future, and those who could read the signs said: "The council shall become a reality now that these men have appeared." [50] Up to this time the prospects of the Council holding another session were quite cold, and consequently but a few prelates bothered to come to Trent.

While waiting for matters to develop, Laynez went searching out his loved poor. He heard their confessions in preparation for the feast of our Lady's Assumption and administered Holy Communion to most of them on the feast. The sick in the hospitals were not neglected and what time remained was devoted to useful study. In the middle of August his patience was tried sorely by an attack of quartan fever. Undoubtedly the "stove" in which he had stifled had something to do with it. On September 1, the twelfth session was held, during which it was decided that the Sacrament of the Eucharist and the duty of residence of bishops should be dealt with at the next session on October 11. At the end of the session the French envoy read King Henry's denunciation of the Council and the Pope, to "The fathers of the Convention of Trent." [51]

The prospects of the Council looked more hopeful upon the arrival of the Elector Sebastian de Heusenstamm, Archbishop and Elector of Mainz, and John de Isenberg, Archbishop and Elector of Trier, and of the

[50] Polanco, *Chronicon*, II, p. 249; *Epistolae Salmeronis*, Trent, July 28, 1551, I, p. 92.

[51] Pallavicini, *op. cit.*, bk. II, ch. 18.

two Imperial legates, Hugh, Count of Monfort of Germany, and William of Poitiers, of Flanders, as well as two other legates of the King of the Romans for Hungary and Austria.[52]

Commencing on September 8, the theologians began their discussions on the Sacrament of the Eucharist. They were instructed to verify their arguments from Holy Scripture and the Fathers, confirming all they said by philosophic reasoning and scholastic authorities, and finally to be brief and to the point, leaving out useless questions.[53] First spoke the Papal theologians, followed by the Imperial theologians; the remaining doctors then spoke according to seniority, while the religious theologians followed according to the customary precedence of their Orders. On the feast of Our Lady's Nativity, Laynez started the discussion, speaking in the presence of the Apostolic Legates, the Electors, Legates of princes and the prelates. Although laid low on the previous day by fever, he discoursed to the satisfaction of his audience.[54] However, neither the *Acts of the Council,* nor Polanco's *Chronicon,* nor contemporary letters mention Laynez' modesty in prefacing his speech with an excuse, prompted by humility, that the only reason he spoke first was that the Legates had commanded it, since someone had to begin and he happened to be the Papal theologian. No mention is made in the primary sources to confirm later accounts of Laynez' assertion that he would quote no Father or theologian whose works he had not read from beginning to end, so that the congregation might be assured that he was giving the proper interpretation of the author's mind, when he cited him.[55] In agreement with Father Broderick we

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[52] *Epistolae Salmeronis, Trent,* Sept. 9, 1551, I, pp. 93 f.

[53] Theiner, *op. cit.,* I, p. 489.

[54] *Epistolae Salmeronis,* vol. I, p. 94; Theiner, *op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 489.

[55] Orlandini writing at the earliest in 1598; bk. II, no. 36, 37; Ribadeneira, bk. I, ch. 7, writing in 1583; Boero, in 1880, bk. I, ch. 11.

admit that it was not beyond the intellectual ability of Laynez to have read so many Fathers and theologians. Yet we wish to make the point that there is no evidence of a public assertion to that effect. The Acts of the Secretary, Angelo Massarelli records Laynez' discourse thus: [56]

> In the name of God, Amen. At the 19th hour on Wednesday, September 8th in the same year, 1551, on the feast of Blessed Mary's nativity, the first congregation of theologians was held in the palace of the Roman legates, in the hall in which the general congregation usually meets .... Therefore, the first master of sacred theology to speak today on the above stated articles, because he was sent by the Pope, our sovereign Lord, was JAMES LAYNEZ of the Society of Jesus, sent to the Council by the Holy Father. He prayed first to God for inspiration asking Him to suggest the truth to him, and then he invoked Our Lady on the feast of her Nativity. He chose for his discourse the first article only, which he demonstrated to be heretical by many arguments. I, Angelo Massarelli, secretary of the Holy Council will note down in summary fashion as much as I can understand as he delivers his opinion. . . .

The article which Laynez selected to prove heretical is the error of Zwingli, Oecolampadius and the Sacramentarian. It was the first of the ten articles presented to the theologians on September 2, 1551, and reads thus: "In the Eucharist neither the body and blood nor divinity of Christ are really present; but they are there only as in a sign." [57]

After proving from Scripture that the Eucharist really and truly contains the body and blood, soul and divinity of Christ, Laynez went to prove it from tradition. He cited chapter fourteen of the Council of Nicaea; the letter of the Council of Ephesus to Nestorius; the sixth session of the seventh synod and the eighth synod; the Councils of the Lateran and of Florence. He then quoted the Fathers: Alexander and Hilary; the Acts of St. Andrew the Apostle; the letter

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[56] Theiner, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 49 Off.; Grisar, *Disputationes Tridintinae, Jacobi Lainez*, Pustet, 1886, vol. 2 pp. 193-197.

[57] Theiner, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 488.

of Martial; Dionysius; Irenaeus; Cyprian; Tertullian; Ignatius; Victorinus; Jerome; Athanasius; Basil; Gregory Nazianzen; Paulinus; John Damascene; Ildephonsus; Paschasius; Victor; and Theodoret.

Laynez then confirmed his proof from reason: If Christ is not really and literally present in the Eucharist, He has abandoned the Church to idolatry, which is impious to say. Then he cites the signs and miracles which the Fathers relate in regard to this Sacrament. Finally he answered the objections of the heretics.

After this discourse, the theologians continued their discussions until September 16. The Fathers then deliberated in nine congregations from September 21 to the 30. Canons were framed to condemn the errors of the Reformers and were examined in a general congregation on October 7, and were then redrafted. The canons treating of the Chalice for the laity and children's communion were postponed in view of the expected arrival of the Protestants at Trent. On October 10 a letter of "safe-conduct" for Protestants was submitted to and sanctioned by the Council. The thirteenth session took place on October 11 amid great solemnity and the doctrine and canons on the Eucharist were decreed.

Orlondini states that on days when the fever was so trying that Laynez could not appear in public, the Legates held private sessions in which despite his illness he assumed the heaviest burdens.[58] The reason given is that they were unwilling that the Council be deprived of Laynez' invaluable assistance. Boero even goes further in his account.[59] He relates that Cardinal Crescenzi could not suffer the loss of Laynez' advice for even a short time. Hence he decided in agreement with the other Fathers of the Council, to take care to discuss important questions on those days only, when Laynez was free from fever. He was thought indispensable because by speaking first he cleared the field

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[58] Orlandini, *op. cit.*, bk. II, no. 38.

[59] Boero, *op. cit.*, bk. I, ch. II, p. 83.

of difficulties and set a norm for the subsequent opinions and votes that were to follow. Laynez was required to speak in public, however, on but three occasions during 1551-1552, viz., on September 8, October 20, and December 7. On September 28, 1551, Salmerón wrote the following letter to Ignatius: [60]

> We are taken up completely in the affairs of the Council; for Cardinal Crescenzi, the Apostolic Legate, whose kindness and confidence we have felt, uses us a great deal. We hope in the Lord that the tasks we perform will not be useless to the glory and help of the Church. Master Laynez is suffering not a little from the fever which never leaves him. When he decided to leave Trent for a few days to cure himself, the business of discussing the Eucharist came up and prevents his departure. Indeed in everything connected with the Council, in public and private meetings he works strenuously and not as one who is sick.

On October 12, 1551, Salmerón again wrote to Ignatius: [61]

> Aided by the grace of our Lord the session on the Sacrament of the Eucharist was held with great harmony and unanimous voting. Hence the canons concerning reformation of morals have regained their strength. We have been employed to our utmost daily by the President and we have helped in everything that has been asked of us. The next session has been fixed for November 25th and is to treat of the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction. We must prepare now to deliver our opinions. The third Elector of the Empire, that is, the Elector of Cologne (Adolph de Schaunberg) and the Archbishop of Strassburg (Erasmus de Lunberg) and others from Germany are expected daily. Father Laynez is troubled for one whole day with his quartan fever, on the other two days he is able to study and do something and to deliver his opinions.

Among the prelates who honored Laynez with their company was Aegidio Foscarari, Bishop of Modena, who expressed his esteem for Laynez and Salmerón in a letter to Ignatius: [62]

> Father Laynez and Father Salmerón have discoursed

[60] *Epistolae Salmeronis*, Trent, vol. I, p. 95.

[61] *Ibid*, Trent, p. 95 f.

[62] *Ibid.*, Appendix, p. 591.

against the Lutherans with the greatest lucidity upon the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist. Indeed, I deem myself fortunate to have met in these times such learned and holy fathers.

On Wednesday, October 20, Laynez spoke at great length before the congregation of theologians on the Sacrament of Penance, which was the next subject to be taken up by the Council. In addition to copious references to the Old and New Testament and extended exegeses of many scriptural passags, he cited the Councils of Florence and Constance as well as Augustine, Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose, John Damascene, Jerome, Chrysostom, Leo the Great, Gregory, and many others.

After delivering this address, Laynez had hoped that he might obtain leave from Cardinal Crescenzi to absent himself from Trent until the next session, in order that he might rest and rid himself of his persistent fever. The Legate, however, was not willing to grant his request until the theologians and bishops had finished with the matter on hand. Besides, he wanted Laynez present when the doctrine and canons on Penance and Extreme Unction were being drafted. Hence it was not until the 23 of October that he was allowed to journey to Riva, a village bordering on Lake Genacho under the jurisdiction of the Cardinal of Trent. Cardinal Madrucci had recommended the place to Laynez and desired to have him carried thither in the episcopal litter. Laynez would not hear of this and travelled from Trent on his sorry horse.[63] The temperate air of his retreat soon cured him and Ignatius sent him a secretary in the person of Brother Ghericum, a Belgian.[64] About this time Ignatius intimated to Laynez that he was seriously thinking of sending Father Nadal to replace him. This plan was not expedient, however, for the presence of Laynez even if he did not speak a word in public was of great importance not only to the Council but for the

[63] Polanco, *Chronicon*, II, p. 251.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 253.

good reputation of the Society. Salmerón put this bluntly to Ignatius in a letter declaring that two or even three other Jesuits could not fill Laynez' place at Trent.[65]

Until the end of October the order of speaking followed by the theologians at Trent was: Laynez and Salmerón; the Dean of Louvain, Dr. Ruard Tapper; Dr. Malvenda; Dr. Arce; Father Melchoir Cano; Father Ortega, the Provincial of the Franciscans; seven theologians sent by the University of Louvain; Dr. Olave and the theologians of the Cardinal of Trent; finally Dr. Gropper, famous for his part in the Council of Cologne, and Dr. Bellichi, whom the Elector of Cologne had brought along with him. After these came the two doctors of the Elector of Trier. At the end of October there were still thirty doctors who had not even spoken.[66] Thus the assembly of the Council was increasing daily. Some Protestants had arrived—Maurice of Saxony and his so-called Lutheran divines; though they numbered some forty knights, there were only twelve or fifteen doctors among them. The Council and the Emperor had extended "safe-conduct" to all of them, which was one reason why there was little hope of them submitting to the decisions of the Council, for they were free to come and go as they pleased.[67]

While the theologians were delivering their opinions from the 20 of October until the 30, Laynez was occupied with drafting the doctrine and canons on the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction. About the beginning of November he was working at top speed on the text.[68] On November 15 the Council voted that the work of drafting the doctrine be done by the same comission which composed the doctrine and the canons of the previous session. On November

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 252.

[66] Polanco, *Chronicon*, II, p. 252.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 253.

[68] Theiner, *op. cit.*, I, p. 581.

16, then, to save the feelings of the commission, the Legate did not add Laynez to its number but presented its members with the text on Penance which Laynez had written, saying that it had been drawn up by certain learned and holy men. The "learned and holy men" were Laynez and Salmerón. Such was the confidence of the legates in these Papal theologians that most of the weight of the Council had been shifted to their shoulders.

On the feast of St. Catherine, November 25, the fourteenth session was held and the decrees written by Laynez were promulgated with the unanimous approbation of the Fathers.[69] On December 3, the heretical articles on the Sacrament of Orders and on the Sacrifice of the Mass were distributed to the theologians. Laynez had been preparing his discourse and hence, on Monday morning, December 7 was ready to speak for three hours on the Sacrifice of the Mass.

The first article under discussion was Luther's doctrine on the Mass. It read:

> The Mass is neither a sacrifice nor an oblation for sins but only a commemoration of the sacrifice of the Cross. By a transfer of name it was called a sacrifice by the Fathers, but really and literally it is not a sacrifice but only a testament and promise of the remission of sin.[70]

By copious citations from Holy Scripture, both from the Old Testament and the New, Laynez demonstrated that the Mass is a sacrifice. He then went on to prove his contention from tradition. First by citing the Councils of Nice, Ephesus, Chalcedon, the Fifth Synod, Lateran, Florence. Next he quoted the Popes: Clement, Anacletus, Evaristus, Telesphorus, Leo, Alexander. Finally he cited the Doctors: Dionysius, Ignatius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Irenaeus, Arnobius, Eucherius, Eusebius, Victorinus, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Basil, Chrysostom.

The number of theologians present at this discourse was over sixty. Shortly afterwards the bishops of Pia-

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[69] Polanco, *Chronicon*, II, p. 253.

[70] Theiner, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 603 ff.; Grisar, *op. cit.*, II, p. 204 ff.

cenza, Segovia and Mondonedo arrived. Dr. Moscosus, an old friend of Ignatius and bishop of Pamplona, also came. Though still suffering from his fever, Laynez made the rounds with Salmerón in welcoming these and other prelates as they arrived in Trent. Laynez took it on himself to explain to them the nature and objectives of the Society of Jesus. Some he even persuaded to found colleges in their dioceses. Among those persuaded were the Bishop of Trier, the Elector of Mainz, the bishop of Piacenza and the Legates of the Prince of Lower Germany. In these partially social visits, the seeds of much good fruits for the Church were sown.[71]

It was on such a social visit that Laynez first met Melchoir Cano, the famous preacher and brilliant theologian of the Order of St. Dominic. Cano had taken a violent dislike to the Society of Jesus and had been preaching publicly against the Jesuits in Spain. He condemned the Order as an innovation, despite its approbation by the Popes, bishops, and even by his Dominican General at Rome and his Provincial in Spain. At Trent he resented the youth, shabby clothes, poverty, methods of catechising, and acts of humility of Laynez and Salmerón—in a word he was passionately opposed to everything contained in Ignatius' instructions for the guidance of the Jesuits at Trent. Being a patriotic and sensitive Spaniard, Cano looked upon all that these Spanish Fathers did as so many slurs upon Spain. Besides, the honors shown these youths because of their position as Papal theologians, thoroughly disgusted him.[72] To placate Cano Laynez paid him a visit in the company of Salmerón. An argument soon ensued between these brilliant but quick-tempered sons of Spain. Laynez tried to explain the purpose of his Institute and Cano was equally determined to break down any argument advanced in its

[71] Polanco, *Chronicon,* II, p. 253 f.

[72] Astrain, *op. cit.,* I, p. 562 f.

favor. The argument had lasted about two hours and the patience of both men was exhausted when Laynez said:[73]

"Now, Father, for charity's sake, answer me one thing. Is your reverence anything more in the Church of God than a poor friar of St. Dominic?"

When Cano replied that he was not, Laynez continued:

"Why then, may I ask, do you put yourself in the place of the bishops and of the Pope, who is the vicar of Christ, and condemn what they have approved and are approving?"

Cano sneered and said:

"Ah, Sir, then you do not wish the dogs to bark if the shepherds sleep?"

"Let them bark, yes," replied Laynez, "but let them bark against the wolves and not against the other dogs."

Cano exclaimed:

"Away with these novelties," insinuating that the Institute of the Society was a novelty in the religious life of the Church.

Laynez was so moved that, as he left Cano, he referred to his abuse of the Society as *"istas merdas"*, not at all a complimentary expression. By the time Laynez had reached the front door he had sufficiently calmed down to feel remorse for what he had said. Running back to Cano's room, he threw himself on his knees at the latter's feet and begged pardon for the words which had slipped out in a moment of passion. Cano was deeply offended and whenever he told the story he would break off dramatically in the middle of the sentence and leave the rest to the imagination of his audience.[74] Cano was about the only person whom Laynez never won over.

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[73] This account is given in Astrain where Ribadeneira's story, given in his work, *De Las Persecuciones dela Compania*, is quoted.

[74] M. H. S. *Epistolae P. H. Nadal*, Madrid, 1899, II, p. 45 f.

His conversation was not always so stormy. It chanced that King Maximilian, accompanied by his wife Maria, the Infanta of Spain, passed through Trent during the meeting of the Council. In the entourage was Lady Maria de Lara, Mistress of the Infanta's chamber. This good lady, a friend of the Society, obtained for Laynez an audience with the Infanta and Queen of Bohemia. He told the Queen that Ferdinand, King of the Romans, intended to found a college for the Society at Vienna, which he commended to her good-will. He then explained the advantages which colleges of this type would bring to her lands. The Queen, who was a friend of Father Araoz, S.J., in Spain, graciously offered her favor and assistance in anything connected with the Society in her lands. Many years later, Lady Maria de Lara not only commenced but had a great share in erecting and endowing with her own money the Society's college at Barcelona.[75]

Besides paying these not unprofitable social calls, Laynez was more than occupied in the work of the Council and the extra tasks assigned him by the President. On top of it all, Ignatius sent instructions to Laynez to have the Society confirmed or approved by the Council, if at all possible. The bishop of Calahorra, John Bernal Diaz de Luco, an ardent friend of the Society, was consulted. He, however, thought that the subject should in no way be introduced to the Council, first because no Religious Order up till then had been so approved, secondly because all the Prelates, with their hearts set on getting away from Trent as speedily as possible, wished only to treat of absolutely necessary business. Hence he feared that the matter would not receive a hearing, if only for the added reason that the Constitutions of the Society had not yet been translated from Spanish into the Latin tongue. And the Constitutions, in his opinion, were not an object for examination and approval, since he would be a very poor Christian who did not

[75] Polanco, *Chronicon*, II, p. 254.

approve or who had doubts about the Institute which the Apostolic Letters of approval had described. This prudent bishop added that the trials which the Society was undergoing, were a clear approbation of the Society in the eyes of thinking men and ought to be looked upon as salutary by the Society itself.[76]

After a few weeks agitation began for dissolving the Council. Some Protestants had sent a representative to Trent to lease a house for them. As neither a house nor the prices satisfied him he departed the city without accomplishing his business. Despite this, the hope still lingered that the Protestants would attend the Council. Then news arrived that all the Lutheran Doctors had left for England. The Emperor was deeply offended at this turn of affairs, since the German Lutheran Princes had promised to despatch their Doctors to Trent. When, therefore, this hope died, the Prelates looked to a quick conclusion of Counciliar business and entertained high hopes that all would be finished by the month of May. But then another and quite unforeseen difficulty arose. It happened that the army which had besieged Magdeburg was disbanded. Reports soon reached Trent that some thousands of Knights and infantrymen had set out to procure the freedom of the Duke of Landsgrave, held prisoner by the Emperor, and that they had already seized the forts of the Electors of Mainz and Trier. These Electors immediately sought permission from the Legate to leave Trent, although the Emperor begged them to stay on and to leave to him the task of handling the seditious soldiery. He feared that, if the Electors departed, it would be a signal for the Council to dissolve.[77]

During all this uncertainty the discussions of the theologians and Fathers had continued. After the theologians had delivered their opinions, the doctrine and decrees on the Sacrifice of the Mass and on the

[76] M. H. S. *Epistolae Lainii*, Trent, Dec. 22, 1551, I, p. 197 f.; Polanco, *Chronicon*, II, p. 254 f.

[77] Polanco, *ibid.*, p. 255.

Sacrament of Orders were drafted by Laynez and Salmerón.[78] This fact should be noted for the draft has never been published and is today in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. A copy of this document might throw light on the present reading of the doctrine as approved by the Council ten years later, when Laynez attended as a Father of the Council in his capacity of General of the Society. At that later date the Fathers approved the draft of the doctrine on the Mass as presented to them, but many said they would rather have the wording used in the draft drawn up in 1551 by Laynez.

The preparation for the session in which the Fathers would vote upon Laynez' draft of the doctrine on the Mass and Orders was progressing rapidly when a final obstacle was placed in the path of all work at Trent. The Dukes of Würtemburg and Saxony sent their legates to the Council in January, 1552, to make impossible and unjust demands as a condition for the attendance of the Protestant divines. The next session had been scheduled for January 21. But the Protestant legates asked that the session be postponed so they could discuss the matter in question. Some of the Prelates thought that the Protestants should not be heard before they swore obedience to the vote and definitions of the Council.

The session was postponed, and on January 23 the Prelates were asked in the name of the Pope, if they thought it expedient to bestow the two vacant cathedral churches of Magdeburg and Alberstadt on Sigismund, the son of Joachim II, Marquis of Brandenburg, a youth of but twenty-two, suspected of heretical tendencies. Nothing was accomplished that day as the vote was divided equally on the question. However, on the following day, 25 Spanish votes were cast against and 35 in favor of the bestowal; thus they hoped to make the Marquis favorable to the Church. The decision was sent to the Pope for him to do what-

[78] Astrain, *op. cit.*, I, p. 556 f.

ever seemed good to him. On the morning of the same day, January 24, John Theodore of Pliennigen, ambassador of the Duke of Würtemburg, and John Henry Hocklin, were received by the congregation of the bishops. Erasmus Sarceri, Valentine Pacaeus and Philip Melancthon, ambassador of Maurice, Duke of Saxony, were admitted in the afternoon.

The demands of all these new arrivals were but variations of the same theme: "At the request of the Emperor, our princes have delegated us to Trent, where a group of men discussing religious matters and calling itself a universal Council, are gathered. Our princes had promised the Emperor to send their doctors and to obey what Trent defines, on condition that a free, universal, and Christian Council is held. But this assembly is not free, for the bishops present are bound by oaths of fidelity to the Roman Pontiff; it is not universal, for men from all nations are not gathered here; it is not Christian, for many things have been defined against the teaching of Sacred Scripture, especially in the article on Justification. Therefore, we demand that judges be appointed other than the bishops and Pope because they are but part of the Church. And because the Pope, as has been defined by the Council of Basle, is subject to the Council in things pertaining to the definition of dogmas of faith, in cases of schism and in his personal reformation, we demand before all else that it be defined that the Council is above the Pope."

The Würtemburgers also presented the Council with a manuscript book of their faith, telling the Fathers that if there was any doubt concerning its sense or meaning their princes would send divines who would interpret and defend it against anyone who disagreed.[79]

On the following day, January 25, the scheduled session was held, but nothing was decided except to have read a most generous "safe conduct" which was

[79] M. H. S. *Epistolae Salmeronis*, Trent, Jan. 25, 1552, I, p. 97 ff.

extended to Protestants to come freely and discuss their faith at Trent according to the norm of Sacred Scripture, Apostolic tradition, the consent of the Church, the authority of the Fathers and approved Councils. The heretics wished only to argue from Scripture. The next session was set for March 19. In the meantime the theologians discussed the Sacrament of Matrimony, hoping to define its doctrine along with the doctrine on the Mass and the Sacrament of Orders.[80]

It was feared that the Council would be suspended without a formal declaration. Then word arrived from the Emperor that he did not wish suspension but rather that the Council should proceed; if the heretics should arrive before the next session, the Council should give them a hearing but if they did not come, the disputed points should be defined at the next session. However, nothing was done at the session of March 19.[81]

Laynez advised Ignatius that the affairs of the Council were moving so slowly that the Pope should be asked to allow him to go some place where he could be employed with profit. He would return immediately to Trent, as soon as the Council settled down to serious business again.[82]

The cold of Trent in January had so aggravated Laynez' fever that the doctors despaired of saving him. Excessive weakness confined him to bed. Nevertheless the Legate still would not grant him permission to leave Trent for a healthier climate, maintaining that he could not dismiss a Papal theologian and, even if he could, he would not allow Laynez to depart, as the arrival of the heretics was still a possibility. If they came, he wanted Laynez to be one of the Catholic theologians to refute them.

Laynez did not die. The condition of his health

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 102; Polanco, *op. cit.*, II, p. 465.

[81] *Epistolae Salmeronis*, p. 102; Polanco, *op. cit.*, II, p. 466.

[82] *Ibid.*, p. 467.

took a turn for the better and as soon as he could get out of doors, he visited more Prelates to discuss the affairs of the Society and business of common interest to the Church. His main task was to dispel false suspicions which some bishops had conceived towards the Society. His main conquest for Catholic education was the bishop of Piacenza. He so inflamed him with the desire of erecting colleges that the bishop communicated with the Pope for certain permissions for the Society and even contacted the King of Spain. He promised Laynez that he would build a college in a year's time at Piacenza and then at Tuxillo and Caceres, cities within the confines of his diocese. This bishop was a steadfast and zealous man in everything to which he put his hand, and all that he promised in regard to the Society was more than fulfilled. Laynez became so close to him that he was practically the Bishop's spiritual adviser.[83]

The departure of the Electors of Mainz and of Cologne had been the signal for the remaining German Prelates attending the Council to leave for home, even though the theologians of the Duke of Würtemburg had arrived at Trent.[84] At the session of March 19, consequently, the meeting was prorouged until May. Although the Emperor's legate urged that the Council institute discussions on Matrimony, there were no discussions worthy of mention. Since January there had been rumors afloat in Rome of an alliance between France and Duke Maurice of Saxony. This was confirmed on March 20. When the Pope heard that the city of Augsburg was in the hands of the rebellious Duke and that Trent was endangered, he decided on April 15 to suspend the Council. On April 20 the Apostolic Brief of Suspension arrived at Trent. However, the Council was not suspended immediately because the Legates thought it wiser that the suspension should proceed from the Council itself. Only now did

[83] The account of these negotiations with the bishop of Piacenza is related in a letter of Laynez to Ignatius, Trent, Feb. 24, 1552. *Epistolae Lainii*, I, p. 199 f.

[84] Polanco, *op. cit.*, II, p. 470.

Laynez at last receive permission to leave Trent. On April 21 he departed for Bassano and Padua. The decress of suspension was published on April 28, 1552. And thus ended the second phase of the great Council which was not to convene again for ten years.

(*to be continued*)

JOHN HAGEN IN WISCONSIN

W. B. Faherty, S.J.

The obituary of the prominent astronomer, Father John Hagen, in a previous issue of *Woodstock Letters*,[1] attempted in two brief sentences to tell the story of his eight years in Wisconsin. Yet such were his accomplishments during this period that the Smithsonian Institute praised him for his astronomical work in its *Annual Report* of 1885.[2]

To retell the whole story of Father Hagen is unnecessary. Both his early career in Austria and Germany, and his subsequent work in Rome have received due treatment. But the near-decade which he spent at Prairie du Chien also deserves memorialization. It is this which is our present purpose.

Except for a year of scientific studies under Edward Heis,[3] at Munster, and a year at Bonn, John Hagen pursued the normal course of training of the Society. His first assignment after Tertainship was Sacred Heart College, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. He arrived in June, 1880, to assist at the opening of school in September. The college building was a three-story frame structure, which had been, successively, a hotel, a Civil War hospital, a non-sectarian college, and a Catholic college conducted by the Christian Brothers.[4]

The rigorous climate, with its wide varieties of temperature and startling changes, was hard on the young priest. A drop of 50 degrees in one afternoon is not unknown in that part of the Mississippi Valley; nor are temperatures of 22 below and 104 degrees above zero. The scenic beauty of the place and the multitude

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[1] *Woodstock Letters*, 1x, 283.

[2] *Annual Report . . . Smithsonian . . .* to July, 1885, Washington, 1886, Part I, 352, 439.

[3] Among the twelve contributions Hagen was to make later to the *Catholic Encyclopedia* was a sketch of this outstanding professor. See Vol. VII, 202.

[4] This building is now the Faculty Hall at Campion.

of clear days and nights, however, were natural compensations for the astronomer.

The school was not exactly on the frontier, though the Sioux were still on the rampage several hundred miles west. Many of the students were sons of immigrants who had pioneered in the region. Over half were resident students from the neighboring states. Few were interested in any but the ordinary subjects.

In all the situation was not conducive to advanced studies in the field of astronomy, especially since Father Hagen had a full schedule of mathematics classes.[5]

The second year, however, saw him begin some astronomical work, even though he had to teach physics, besides mathematics, and was moderator of the Junior Sodality.[6] After purchasing necessary instruments he began a series of observations of variable stars in conjunction with the Harvard Observatory. During the second term of the school year 1882-83, he took one hundred and twenty-one observations and made studies in conjunction with the Royal Observatory at Stonyhurst, England.[7]

Father Hagen visited the Washburn Observatory at Madison, Wisconsin, in August, 1883, to consult Professor Edward S. Holden, the Director. At the advice of the prominent astronomer, a modest observatory was erected on the Sacred Heart campus.[8] It looked like a sawed-off caboose, that had been sidetracked from the neighboring Burlington rails. No better commentary on the individual nature of his work can be made than to relate that when Father Hagen left for Georgetown, the one-time observatory became a chicken-coop.

Father Hagen offered, when the school opened the following month, a course in fundamental astronomy,

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[5] *Catalogus Sociorum et Officiorum Dispersae Provinciae Germaniae Societatis Jesu* (Trevueren, Belgium), 1881, 48.

[6] *Catalogus*, etc. (1882), 48.

[7] *Catalogue of the College of the Sacred Heart* (1882-83), 17.

[8] *Catalogue of S. H. C.* (1883-84), 18.

as well as courses in natural philosophy and German.[9]

He collaborated with Professor Holden in the cataloguing of a thousand stars, a work which appeared in Volume Three of the *Publications* of the Washburn Observatory. Of this work, the Smithsonian *Annual Report* states:

> The original observations had never been reduced to mean place, but being good ones and in a part of the sky where needed, we have here the anomaly of European work reduced and published in this country; and Father Hagen and Professor Holden are to be highly commended for making it available.[10]

Despite this recognition by such an outstanding body, Father Hagen's work received little publicity at home. The school catalogue talks of astronomical work in a very impersonal way, with more interest shown for instruments than for the young astronomer.[11] The local paper, too, was silent, according to policy. Its reason, in its own words, was: "The President of the College does not believe in newspaper notices".[12]

Father Hagen showed his command of the English language by teaching it during the school year 1884-85. Some of his astronomical researches were published by Professor E. C. Pickering in the *Annals of the Astronomical Observatory of Harvard College.*[13] The *Stimmen aus Maria Laach* carried a number of articles by him during the next few years on various matters of interest to scientists, such as "Weather Bureaus in North America", the "Smithsonian Institute", and "Certain Problems in Astronomy".[14]

In the administrative affairs of the college, Father

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[9] *Catalogus,* etc. (1884), 49.

[10] *Annual Report . . . Smithsonian Institution . . .* to July, 1885, I, 352.

[11] *Catalogue of S. H. C., passim.*

[12] Prairie du Chien *Courier,* July 4, 1882.

[13] *Annals,* XIV, 11.

[14] See *Stimmen,* etc., xxix (1885), 39, 497; xxxii (1887), 418, 523.

Hagen had little part. The memorial of his semester as a consultor records no opinion that he gave on the very minor matters that came up for discussion. In August, 1887, he helped make arrangements for the La Crosse Diocesan Synod to be held at Sacred Heart College.[15]

What of Father Hagen personally during these years? He is remembered by former students as a fine teacher. Wrapped up in science, he had no moment to spare. Yet withal he was kind. He had little disciplinary trouble with the vigorous western young men of those days, because of his sincere business-like way and his very interesting manner and material. And the men who recalled these characteristics, well remember the pranks which they and their comrades perpetrated to torment other teachers.

Father Hagen's priestly work was limited. He was moderator of the Junior Sodality. For a time he was chaplain at St. Mary's Academy, a girls' school in Prairie du Chien. An occasional "supply" in various neighboring towns completed his spiritual apostolate.

When Sacred Heart College became a seminary for Jesuits at the end of the spring term in 1888, Father Hagen left Georgetown University.

Thus ended his scarcely heralded stay in Wisconsin. Little fame was accorded him here, in comparison with the great recognition that was to be his later. But this was the drudging groundwork, the period of hard struggle, which preludes every rise to prominence. Such periods should not go unheeded.

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[15] *Diarium* of S. H. C. August 18, 1887.

HISTORICAL NOTES

ST. IGNATIUS' POSITION AT PAMPLONA

The defense of the citadel at Pamplona is a stirring and well known tale. Artists and poets, as well as historians, have pictured Ignatius, the valiant soldier of his Most Catholic Majesty, rallying the defenders and sticking to his post until he finally goes down with a shattering wound, a martyr to his duty. Yet, in a sense, there is nothing very strange in a soldier's unswerving loyalty to his duty. The arresting thing about Pamplona—and it goes unmentioned in any life of the Saint—is that there was no question of duty in the first place. Strictly speaking, St. Ignatius had no business being in the citadel at all, and the fact that he was there indicates much more than a soldier's devotion to his duty. It is an index of what the Spanish call "bizarria," a sort of reckless valour, combined with a shining sense of chivalry and honor.

It is well known that when the Franco-Navarrese forces swept down on Pamplona Ignatius of Loyola was a captain in the armies of the king of Spain, serving under Don Antonio Manríque de Lara, Duke of Nájera and Viceroy of Navarre. It has always been assumed, or even stated, that this renowned soldier and statesman left Ignatius in the citadel of Pamplona to help hold the fort, so to speak, until he himself secured forces strong enough to withstand successfully the enemies of his King, under Fox and Labrit. There has been some surprise, of course, and some disparaging remarks about the efficiency of the old Spanish records because the name of Iñigo de Loyola does not appear in the records of the personnel of the citadel, nor among the payroll lists, kept since August, 1520.[1] It was assumed, with questionable justice, that

[1] Moret, *Anales de Navarra* Vol. V, Pamplona, 1776, book 36, No. 18, p. 363.

either the lists were defective, or that the men left behind by the Duke of Nájera were not considered part of the Citadel Garrison, and so not entered in its payroll records. And the historians asserted categorically that Ignatius was left in the citadel.

Recently, however, attention has been called to certain passages in Polanco's vast "Chronicon" and to some unedited documents of Father Nadol. These sources show the activity of Ignatius at Pamplona in a new light.

The fact is that there were two distinct kinds of troops in Pamplona. The first was the garrison stationed at the citadel. The others were those left by the Duke of Nájera to bolster up the feeble defences of the city. These were under a different commander, and had nothing whatever to do with the troops ordinarily garrisoning the Citadel.

Father Polenco writes: "(The Viceroy) left Ignatius and a few others in Pamplona under Don Francisco de Beaumont, that they might do as he ordered. But when, believing that he did not have forces enough to withstand the French, and seeing the majority of the people inclined to open the gates to Don Henrique (de Labrit), Don Francisco abandoned the city, Ignatius was ashamed at that retreat, which seemed so much like flight, and refused to follow him. Moreover, before the very eyes of the retiring troops, he entered the citadel to defend it together with the fistful of men who guarded it. A brave soldier, with whom he had frequently had heated words and contentions of honor now desired to accompany him in that defence." [2]

Thus there was something above mere duty. There was an immense loyalty and a certain grand boldness that moved an officer to defy his commander and undertake a task as hopeless as the defence of a badly garrisoned citadel against vastly superior and reckless forces. It was not merely that he thought to save his

[2] Polanco. *Vita Patris Ignati, Chronicon.* Vol. I. Madrid, 1894. p. 12.

honor, because, after all, de Beaumont was his commanding officer, and at his orders he could have retired to safety without the slightest suspicion of stain on his record. It was merely that Ignatius was too gallant to retreat. Probably, too, he knew that it was part of the grand Spanish strategy to hold on to everything as long as possible at any cost. That this was the case is shown by the terrible accusations which Don Iüigo Fernandez de Velasco, Constable of Castile and Governor of the Realm, hurled against the generals at Iruña, going so far as to assert that Herrera was a traitor, deserving to have his throat slit.[3]

Whatever the reason, however, the fact remains. The troops withdrew, and Ignatius and his companion deliberately re-entered the citadel.

That was May 17, 1521.[4]

But there is more to the story. Once inside the citadel, Ignatius was by no means satisfied to remain waiting in idleness. Whether he received news that day that there were other Spanish forces nearby, or whether he already knew it and decided to urge their arrival with all possible speed, he rode out of the city again that night, and reappeared on the morning of May 19, accompanied by troops under Don Martín de Loyola, his brother.

This is clear from Nadal's words: "When the French were about to besiege Pamplona (May 19), and when the elder brother of Ignatius (that is, Don Martin), and Ignatius himself came to its help, seeing that the situation was desperate, they urged with great earnestness that the men in control of the city should let them have the government of it, so that they might defend it. But they could not obtain this, which so annoyed and displeased the brother of Ignatius that

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[3] Cartas del Condestable al Emperador. *Historia Critica y Documentada de las Comunidades*, IV.

[4] This is evident from the fact that the Lord of Orcoyen, Carlos de Artieda, took over the civil government on that day, after the populace, militantly pro-French, had sacked the Viceroy's palace. v. Aleson, *Anales* No. 18. p. 363.

he would not even enter the city, but marched away at once with his forces." [5]

But once again Ignatius disagreed, and once again, at a moment which must have been charged with tremendous drama, he put spurs on his horse, and rode once more into the citadel, followed by a few others.[6]

In view of that fact, it is easy to see how this man, who had really no business being there at all, could influence the commander of the citadel, Capt. Francisco de Herrera, enough to make him reject the French terms, and undertake one of the most hopeless defences in history.

And in the light of all this it is easy to see that Ignatius, as he lay recovering in the halls of Loyola, could look ahead into a future of assured success. A man of such proven heroism and daring could be certain of a brilliant career in the armed service of the King of Spain. Indeed, when he visited the Duke of Nájera later at Navarrete to collect some ducats due him, and the treasurer told the Duke that he had no money for this, the latter replied: "There may not be money for anything else, but for Loyola let there be no lack. He has won much credit in the past." [7]

But the past was dead. And ahead lay a much brighter future.

KURT BECKER, S.J.

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[5] P. Nadal. *Apologia ad doctores Parisienses.*

[6] Ibid. V. *Nuevos datos sobre San Ignacio. La labor de Polanco y Nadal en los origenes de la biografia ignaciana.* Bilbao, 1925.

[7] *Scripta de S. Ignatio.* I, Madrid, 1904.

THE FIRST JESUIT COPYRIGHT?

A very early — probably the *earliest* — copyright granted for a book written by a Jesuit reads as follows:

> Cum . . . dilectus filius Ignatius de Loyola, . . . quaedam documenta, sive Exercitia spiritualia . . . redegerit . . . (concedimus) ut hujusmodi documenta et spiritualia Exercitia imprimi a quocumque bibliopola, per praedictum Ignatium eligendo, libere et licite valeant; ita tamen, ut post primam editionem, sine consensu ejusdem Ignatii, vel successorum ejus, nec ab hoc, nec ab alio omnino, sub excommunicationis et 500 ducatorum piis operibus applicandorum poena imprimi possint; et mandantes . . .

This grant is contained in the Apostolic Letter "*Pastoralis officii cura*" of Pope Paul III in which the Spiritual Exercises were officially approved and recommended to all the faithful, under date of July 31, 1548.

The first edition of the Latin text, known as the "Versio Vulgata", was printed in that same year. It was not, however, "published" in the strictest sense, since it was not for public distribution but for use within the Society.

The coincidence of the date—July 31—with that of the death of the author eight years later adds an extra note of interest to this document.

From the Bruges edition of the "Thesaurus Spiritualis S. J.", 1897, pages xxvi-xxviii and xxxi.

> N. B. For the earliest published writing (Sermon or Conference) of a Jesuit cf. Sommervogel, s.v. *Salmerch.* See also Sommervogel's note following the entry for the first (*Latin*) edition of the Exercises, s.v. *Loyola.* St. Peter Canisius also *edited* several works published earlier than 1548, for which cf. Sommervogel s.v. *Canisius.*

EDWARD C. PHILLIPS, S. J.

OBITUARY

FATHER GEORGE E. KELLY

1877-1941

On September 16, 1941, Father George E. Kelly, in his 48th year in the Society, died peacefully in the Georgetown University Hospital. He was at the time Spiritual Father of the Georgetown College Community. He had been ill for several years and had undergone painful abdominal operations; though up to the year of his death he was quite active in the several responsible duties assigned him and was, in the ordinary parlance of the day, always "on the job." Born in Baltimore, February 22, 1877, and after completing the high school courses at Loyola, he entered the Society July 29, 1893, at the old Novitiate in Frederick, where he spent five years. The Juniorate at that time for high school entrants was usually three years. There followed the regular courses in Philosophy and Theology at Woodstock and there he was ordained by Cardinal Gibbons in June, 1909. His entire regency was spent most successfully at Fordham and he ever retained great interest in the growth and expansion of that University and was fortunate in keeping up the friendships formed there as a teacher and prefect of discipline. It was at Fordham that he pronounced his last vows, February 2, 1913, after completing his tertianship at Poughkeepsie. After a year at Loyola College, Baltimore, as teacher of first year in the High School and professor of English in the evening school, he came to Gonzaga College, Washington, and here were spent his most active and, it would appear, his happiest years; in fact he seemed to measure all else in the Province by the standards set at Gonzaga and in St. Aloysius Church. Undoubtedly to him it was

"Ille Angulus terrarum mihi praeter omnes ridet."

After two years as Prefect of Studies at Georgetown Prep, Father Kelly taught fourth year there for seven years. In 1933 he became Rector of Brooklyn Preparatory School and remained in this position till June, 1937. From one of his community at the time we have the following:

"Father Kelly was always interested in the little children of his parish. He took particular delight in being with them and in furthering their instructions in the Christian Doctrine. He was always able to bring home to them by some homely and apt example the lessons of the Gospel. It was through his efforts that the Trinitarian Sisters were introduced into the social and religious activities of the parish. And Father Kelly did all in his power to foster their labors and to encourage the sisters in their work for the poor of St. Ignatius' parish. In order that there might be trained and motherly hands to mould the children in their religion, Father Kelly imported the Sisters of St. Joseph from a neighboring parish to teach the children their catechism on Sundays and to instruct them for the various sacred processions during the year. And for his efforts on behalf of the children, he was loved and esteemed by them. During one of the periods of his convalescence he used to sit in the sun at the Sacristy door and direct the play of his 'little ones.'

"When his altar boys had grown from grammar school age into the freshmen period, Father Kelly did not forget them. He was always on the alert for promising lads whom he could finance through the high school. And when some 'bright boy' failed to reach the mark, Father Kelly did not hesitate to inflict salutary chastisement on the delinquent. Father Kelly's praises were never fulsome but they were always well deserved and he had come to realize most fully that the hope of the Church in this nation is in the Faith of its children.

"One of Father Kelly's great crosses was the fact that he was unable to open a grammar school for the parish. He maintained that with the opening of a parochial school would come the evacuation of the undesirable element on Crown Street, and with their departure peace and freedom from law suits for feigned injuries. But he was unable to realize his dream."

During his two score and eight years in the Society Father Kelly was never robust though ill health never interfered with his giving himself whole-heartedly to what responsibility or task was assigned him. He was most conscientious and expected the same from others. His devotion to the traditions of the Society and Province even in smaller things was always evident and he had highest respect for the wishes of his superiors. As a religious he was exemplary in his observance of customs and rules and he never exacted of those under him any more than he gave himself. Only those who came into close contact with him realized the great sufferings he patiently endured due to ill health; even to his most intimate friends he never uttered a word of complaint. And for doctors and nurses who attended him during his many long months in the hospitals he always had a gracious appreciation and gratitude.

For a short time Father Kelly was acting Rector of Loyola College, Baltimore; due to his nervous condition he had to be relieved. After a few years in the classroom, the work of his predilection, and two very successful years as Minister at Fordham, it was felt that he would be able to assume greater responsibilities and he was made Rector of Brooklyn College. For several years from its inception this institution had been retarded due to the debt incurred, and Father Kelly was most efficient in considerably reducing this burden for his successors. He was Minister for one year at Loyola School; this was followed by a year in the same position at St. Joseph's Prep, Philadelphia. It was while he was minister at Loyola College, Bal-

timore, that his physical condition became much worse and he was sent to Georgetown to recuperate. For several months it was clear to all that he was gradually becoming much weaker and in spite of his heroic efforts to improve he succumbed, early in September, 1941. His obsequies were attended by many of his lay friends in Washington and by a large number of ours, who came from the institutions in the vicinity. May he rest in peace.

FATHER JAMES M. COTTER

1872-1940

In the Georgetown Infirmary on July 16, 1940, the feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Father James M. Cotter died after several months of most painful illness. It was on this same propitious day that he had been born in Philadelphia, in the year 1872. He began and ended his life under the special protection of the Blessed Mother, to whom he was singularly devoted. He had received many favors during his sixty-eight years, and not the least was the environment which he enjoyed in a model Catholic home. Both his father and his mother were held in the highest esteem as active, edifying and zealous members of the Gesu parish, Philadelphia, and they were looked upon by all as exemplars of Christian virtue. Nor was it a surprise to anyone that sons and daughters of such a family should be generously given to the religious life.

With his younger brother, he entered St. Joseph's College soon after the institution's second beginning on Stiles Street, and together they entered the Society in August, 1893, at St. Stanislaus Novitiate, Frederick,

Maryland. Philosophy and theology were finished at Woodstock, and James Cotter was ordained by Cardinal Gibbons in June, 1908. His regency, which was during the time when five years were regularly alloted, was at Gonzaga, Washington, and at Holy Cross College, Worcester. To the latter institution he returned during a year that intervened between theology and the Tertianship at Poughkeepsie. While teaching at Loyola College, Baltimore, he pronounced his last vows on February 2, 1911. Three years were successfully devoted to the work of the Mission Band, but it proved too hard on his health and he was obliged to take a year's rest at Keyser Island, South Norwalk, Connecticut. With his health fully restored, he gave himself unsparingly to the parish of St. Peter's, Jersey City, where he spent twelve active and fruitful years.

The next ten years were spent as operarius of St. Aloysius parish, Washington. Then, his health shattered, he came to spend his last years at Georgetown. Here, in addition to a constant uncertainty of life created by a serious heart condition, his deep humility and vivid realization of what he had preached so forcibly, sin and its punishment, caused him to grow unduly anxious and it seemed that all his mission sermons came back and he felt he should apply all to himself. But his childlike confidence would always assert itself when a companion would speak to him of the love of God our Father, or remind him of the many novenas he had so faithfully given to the Sacred Heart, and how he had always urged others to place their unbounded trust in that loving Heart. To give this novena was his delight, as well as the delight of those who heard him.

By many Father James Cotter was regarded as the best preacher on the staff of parish and school Fathers at St. Aloysius. His sermons always carried conviction. He had a wide command of language and expression and had few equals in the ability to develop a truth or a thought. In that he was a true rhetorician. He was always ready on shortest notice with material

for a sermon, and always generous to supply for another Father who might be unable to keep an engagement. He was a sworn enemy of hypocrisy and snobbery, and paid his respects to these at times in his sermons.

He was fond of the poor. Many a kind deed unknown to any other must have been recorded in his favor by the good angel. He was a great favorite with children and the poorest of the poor. When he would take his daily stroll in the vicinity of the church he was sure to be followed and surrounded by a group of youngsters whom he would entertain and delight by his mimicry and imaginative stories. The old parish had more than its share of beggars, genuine and fakers. Father Cotter could inevitably tell the true from the false, and he took keen delight in confounding and rebuffing the imposters.

Father James Cotter was a most entertaining member of the community. He had a keen sense of humor and enjoyed an innocent practical joke whether on himself or perpetrated on others. With strangers, especially of the junior clergy, he would assume an air of inquisitive innocence, and wonderment at knowledge which he already possessed.

It may be said that his favorite devotions were to St. Anne and the Souls in Purgatory. Every year he conducted a triduum in honor of St. Anne when temperatures were highest in Washington, and he won many a client to the Mother of Our Blessed Lady. Purgatory he called the Parish of the Dead. By his annual novena for the Holy Souls he brought the people to make frequent visits to that twilight land to relieve and set free the mourners there. May he rest in peace!

VARIA

The American Assistancy.—

MARYLAND-NEW YORK PROVINCE

Nativity Parish Celebrates Centenary.—The 100th anniversary of the founding of Nativity parish, Second Avenue and Second Street, was observed by more than 1,000 persons on Sunday, June 7, at a Solemn Pontifical Mass celebrated by the Most Rev. Bartholomew J. Eustace, Bishop of Camden, and a native of the parish.

The Most Rev. Francis J. Spellman, Archbishop of New York, presided, and addressed the congregation at the close of the Mass.

"I have the consolation of bringing to you today the blessing of the Holy Father," he said. "The message is addressed to Father De Maria and is signed by the Apostolic Delegate."

> As you gather with the clergy, Religious and faithful of your parish to commemorate the historic date of the Centenary of the founding of Nativity Church, I am pleased to inform you that our Most Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, has graciously deigned to impart to you and to all the other priests laboring in Nativity parish, as well as to all the Religious there employed, and to all the faithful his special Apostolic Benediction. While it is my happy duty and privilege to convey to you this August Message of the Sovereign Pontiff, who thus deigns to participate so directly in your Centenary Celebration, I wish to take advantage of the opportunity to assure you, the priests, Religious and faithful of the parish, of my own personal congratulations and good wishes. It is my prayer that the immense good which Nativity parish has effected since the days of its foundation may be multiplied a hundredfold, and that the blessings which God showers down upon you on this auspicious occasion may be but a pledge of those which will continue throughout the years.

With renewed felicitations and sentiments of esteem, and with every best wish, I remain, sincerely yours in Christ, A. G. Cigognani, Archbishop of Laodicea, Apostloic Delegate.

The mission of the church, Monsignor Rossi said in his sermon, is the continuation of the work of Christ Himself, and throughout the years the enemies of Christ have tried to destroy her. "The enemies of Christ continued their relentless but futile efforts to choke the progress of His Church even in this country. They sowed the seed of prejudice; they accused Catholics of being unpatriotic—even in our own city this antagonism became very acute, and pronounced," he pointed out. This state of affairs in 1842, and the constant growth of the Catholic population, caused Bishop Hughes, later the first Archbishop of New York, to commission the Rev. Andrew Byrne to purchase the property and organize Nativity parish.

"On June 5 of the same year, 100 years ago, this temple was solemnly dedicated to the Nativity of Our Lord."

The Rev. Anthony I. DeMaria, S.J., present pastor of Nativity Church, in a brief address prior to introducing Monsignor Rossi as the preacher, said that the slogan for the centenary celebration was, "Let Us Praise the Lord," in thanksgiving for the blessings that God has showered upon the parish during the past 100 years.

A military note was sounded during the celebration when a bugler of St. Francis Xavier High School played "Church Call" at the start of the ceremony. At the consecration a military call was also sounded. The Knights of Columbus Fourth Degree Color Guard and Xavier Cadets stood at attention with raised sabers during the consecration, and the color bearers dipped the Papal flag.

The centenary celebration came to a close on Sunday, June 14, with a dinner-dance at the Hotel Commodore at 7 P. M.

—*The Catholic News*, August 1, 1942.

President of Peru Honored.—The Most Rev. Francis J. Spellman, Archbishop of New York, attended special exercises at Fordham University on Tuesday, May 19, at at which President Manuel Prado of Peru was presented with the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

Following the presentation of the degree by the Very Rev. Robert I. Gannon, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps of Fordham engaged in a special drill and was reviewed by Archbishop Spellman, President Prado and his staff.

Speaking during the exercises, Archbishop Spellman said:

"I am happy to come here this afternoon, first of all as a citizen of the United States to participate in the welcome that our country is giving to the Chief Executive of Peru. I am sure that the president needs no words of mine to tell him of the universality and the sincerity of the welcome that has been given to him.

"I also am happy to be here this afternoon as an alumnus of Fordham University. It was with some emotion that I heard Father Gannon read the roster of names of those who have honored Fordham as Fordham has honored them—Pope Pius XII, President Roosevelt and now President Prado. It is likewise with emotion that I recall that I am a classmate of students whose names I saw on the Memorial gate as I came here this afternoon, names of those who gave the supreme sacrifice for democracy, during the war of my generation.

"Lastly I come here as a friend and as an admirer of Peru. Four years ago it was my privilege to visit Peru and to see with my own eyes the industrious character and the sincerity of that people. I traveled to the remotest parts of that country, and in some parts I found poverty and distress, but I saw in all parts, faith in God and love of fellow-man exemplified."

In his speech Father Gannon, President of Fordham University, said:

"It is our honor to greet the enlightened ruler of a foreign state, a friendly state, a state particularly

dear to us at Fordham not merely because of the fact that our fellow-Jesuits have labored there since 1568, with one tragic interval, and there set up the first printing press in South America, but because of a more domestic incident which happened 300 years later.

"In 1858, Fordham was facing one of its periodic financial crises, a bad habit which it has never been able wholly to correct. The Catholics of New York at the time were still the hewers of wood and drawers of water, and the pennies they had in their pockets were being saved for the building of St. Patrick's Cathedral. So two of our more plausible Fathers set out for Peru, where there were Catholics of wealth and culture ready to take the same interest in a New York Catholic College, distant and crude as it was, that we might take today in the foreign missions. The expedition was a complete success and the Fathers on their return brought with them money enough to save the Old Rose Hill Farm and some seventeenth century paintings which hang to this day in the president's office.

"This touch of sentiment merely adds, of course, to the gratification we should feel in any case on receiving in a single distinguished visitor, a scientist, a soldier, a banker and a statesman."

—*The Catholic News*, May 23, 1942.

CHICAGO PROVINCE

Ten Thousand Hear Chaplain.—Father Joseph Boggins, S.J., U. S. Army chaplain, preached to a congregation of more than 10,000 persons at the annual Corpus Christi demonstration at Nudge College. The sermon was given at the invitation of the Archbishop of Brisbane, the Most Rev. James Duhig. Father Boggins was a member of the faculty of the Univer-

sity of Detroit High School, Detroit, Mich., before entering the Army.

The invitation to Father Boggins came after the favorable comment on his sermon at St. Stephen's Cathedral here, at the commenoration of Anzac Day. In past years it had been the custom of the Archbishop to give the Corpus Christi sermon himself.

—*The Catholic News*, August 1, 1942.

MISSOURI PROVINCE

Sacred Heart Radio Program.—The second annual convention of the directors and staff of the Sacred Heart Radio Program was held at Saint Louis University April 10 and 11. Father Eugene P. Murphy, National Director, presided. Among those present were: Father Stephen L. J. O'Beirne, editor of the Messenger of the Sacred Heart; Father Julien Senay, National Director of the Apostleship of Prayer for Canada; Father Matthew Hale, regional director for New England; Jose Macias of the Mexican Province; Father W. Zajaczkowski, editor of the Polish Messenger of the Sacred Heart, Chicago, and Father John J. Walde, of Corpus Christi Church, Oklahoma City, who will reappear on the Catholic Hour this summer, and who has appeared on the Sacred Heart program.

At present the program is broadcast on 83 stations. The cities include New York, Chicago, two in Alaska, Honolulu, and Puerto Rico. The present daily audience is estimated at seven and a half million listeners. The program is now officially "The Voice of the Apostleship of Prayer."

—*News-Letter, Missouri Province*, May, 1942.

NEW ENGLAND PROVINCE

Chaplain Honors Heroes.—The Courier-Mail, secular daily of Brisbane, Australia, has reproduced a poem of tribute to Darwin's dead, written by Father Anthony G. Carroll, S.J., U. S. Army Chaplain, and read by him at a memorial service to fallen men at an advanced allied base. Father Carroll served as professor of chemistry at Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Mass., prior to entering the service. The poem follows:

"On Darwin's shore our bodies lie,
And o'er our graves the soft winds sigh,
And whisper through the star-filled night,
The story of the silver blight
That struck us from a wing-blacked sky.

But death will never break the tie
That binds us all—we did not die
To idly gaze from some great height
On Darwin's shore.

Know ye who guard the slopes nearby—
Know ye who overhead still fly—
Till victory, with you we fight,
And not till then, will bid good-bye
On Darwin's shore."

—*The Catholic News*, August 1, 1942.

OREGON PROVINCE

Episcopal Anniversary.—His Excellency the Most Rev. Joseph R. Crimont, S.J., D.D., first Vicar-Apostolic of Alaska and titular Bishop of Amaedera, has received from His Holiness Pope Pius XII the following letter congratulating him upon the twenty-fifth anniversary of his elevation to the Episcopate, July 25, 1942:

To Our Venerable Brother Raphael Crimont, Titular Bishop of Amaedera, Vicar Apostolic of Alaska—Health and Apostolic Benediction.

We have learned with great pleasure that you shall have soon completed the twenty-fifth year from the time, when to the Episcopal dignity, you assumed the government of this, your Vicariate.

With how much loving interest we are inflamed, how much tender affection we feel in our heart, whenever a happy event of this kind occurs to the sacred pastors who have zealously toiled, and particularly in the remote corners of the globe, in promoting the eternal welfare of the souls in danger of being lost, is indeed not easy to express.

To you, therefore, Venerable Brother, who have spent such a long period of years to the glory of the Most High and the good of souls, we express our heartfelt congratulations, and by Our Authority and with overflowing affection we wish to participate in the celebration of that sacred event.

In order that the solemnity of your jubilee may bring to the Faithful a greater abundance of fruits and of joy, we are pleased to grant you the faculty of blessing by Our Authority and in Our Name the congregation who shall be present on the day assigned, after the celebration of the Solemn Pontifical Mass and of offering them a plenary indulgence to be gained according to the prescribed regulations of the Church.

Meanwhile we fervently pray and beseech God that He may vouchsafe to pour down on the pastor and upon the flock of His Vicariate the most abundant blessings.

As a happy augury of these and as a testimonial of Our special love, to you, Venerable Brother, to your Auxiliary Bishop, to the whole clergy, to the entire body of the Faithful, and especially to your Religious Communities, We impart the Apostolic Benediction with much love in Our Lord.

Given at Rome, near Saint Peter's, the sixteenth day of the Month of February, of the year 1942, and the third year of Our Pontificate.

(Signed) Pius PP. XII.

This year the 83-year-old Bishop also celebrates his fifty-fourth anniversary as a priest and his sixty-seventh as a Jesuit.

His Excellency was born in Picardy, France. After

entering the Society at St. Acheul, Amiens, he came to America in 1886 for the work of the Rocky Mountain Mission. He worked among the Crow Indians in Montana for some years before being sent to Alaska. His Superiors recalled him shortly to the States and made him Rector of Gonzaga University, Spokane, in 1901.

Pope Pius X cut short his work there by appointing him to succeed Father John Baptist Rene as Prefect Apostolic of Alaska, March, 1904.

Thus was fulfilled the prophecy made to Brother Crimont when a young scholastic in Amiens by St. John Bosco. Doctors had given Joseph Crimont only one month to live. He asked St. (then Father) John Bosco for prayers that God "let me live so that I may become a missionary." The Saint responded: "Gladly, my son. God will grant your request and you will become a missionary."

Seattle College.—A number of Japanese students have been obliged to withdraw from the College due to the Government's "Go East" order.

Indian Aviators.—About 25 Catholic Indian young men from St. Andrew's mission have gone to join the U. S. Army or air force, and more will leave. Numerous other Indians have taken up defense jobs locally or on the coast.

—*Seminary News, Oregon Province*, May, 1942.

From Other Countries.—

ALASKA

Vicar Delegates Appointed.—The Most Rev. Charles F. Buddy, Bishop of San Diego, and the Most Rev. Walter J. Fitzgerald, S.J., Coadjutor Vicar Apostolic

of Alaska, have accepted appointments as Vicar Delegates to aid the Military Ordinariate in supervising the work of Catholic chaplains of the United States Armed Forces, the Most Rev. Francis J. Spellman, Military Vicar, announces.

The increase in military personnel in the vast Pacific coast area in recent months determined the erection of the two new Sub-Vicariates, Archbishop Spellman said. Bishop Buddy and Bishop Fitzgerald become the tenth and eleventh Vicar Delegates assisting the Most Rev. John F. O'Hara, C.S.C., Military Delegate.

Bishop Fitzgerald, who is accepting the new appointment with the consent of the Most Rev. Joseph R. Crimont, S.J., Vicar Apostolic of Alaska, will supervise the work of Catholic Army and Navy chaplains throughout the Territory of Alaska.

Missionary Visits States.—Rev. John P. Fox, S.J., noted Northern Alaska Missionary and founder of a community of Eskimo Sisters, is visiting in the Middle West. The community is the Sisters of Our Lady of the Snows; a group of six postulants will receive the habit soon. Father Fox is postmaster, warden of the reindeer herd and notary public as well as priest and teacher; his territory is bleak and barren, occupied by one of the least civilized of Indian tribes. On the trail he drives his own team of 13 dogs; he is also a seaman, piloting his motorboat to reach some of his missions.

—*The Catholic News*, May 30, 1942.

ENGLAND

News of Father Martindale.—A Scots priest who has made his way back to Britain by air from Stockholm after being interned in Denmark has brought news of Father C. C. Martindale, S.J.—principally that, as

usual, he is hard at work with that inseparable companion, his typewriter.

Another message has since come from Father Martindale himself to a friend. In this he says that he is by no means well and asks for prayers, but adds that he has experienced much kindness.

Father Thomas King, D.D., recently back from Sweden, told of several meetings he had with Father Martindale in Copenhagen, where he was caught up in the German invasion a day or so after he had arrived in Denmark to give a series of lectures.

Father Martindale, said Father King, is staying at the Jesuit house. The ecclesiastical authorities are happy to have him with them, and Bishop Suhr—Denmark's first native Bishop since the Reformation—highly appreciates Father Martindale's help to the Catholic press.

Copenhagen's Catholic paper has an article every week from Father Martindale. Two of his books have been translated into Danish, and when Father King last saw him he was at work on a Christmas book.

—*The Australian Messenger*, May 1, 1942.

Paper and the English Messenger.—The amount of paper, by weight, now allowed to periodicals is reduced to a little less than one-fifth of the quantity used in 1939. This explains the reduction in the number of pages in *Messenger*, and also the use of thinner paper. The only alternative was to bring out the magazine only once in two months; a plan which would not fit well with the setting forth of the Pope's monthly Intentions, and unsatisfactory on other grounds.

—*English Messenger*, April, 1942.

GERMANY

Hitler Excludes Scholastics.—Nazis have a high regard for the military qualities of the young German

Jesuits forcibly inducted into Hitler's army, but they are highly irked by the unquenchable apostolic fervor of these Jesuit-soldiers. Nazi big-wigs removed Jesuit scholastics from the Russian front because Adolph feared the influence these religious were exerting over their pagan comrades. In the summer of 1940 when the Nazis jumped Belgium, 11 Jesuit scholastics in the German front ranks fell in the first few minutes of fighting.

—*Seminary News, Oregon Province,* May, 1942.

INDIA

Kurseong Diary.—*May 6th*—The 400th anniversary of St. Francis Xavier's landing in India was celebrated with a Solemn High Mass "coram episcopo." In the evening the I. A. sponsored a program of essays depicting 'Xavier the Saint" by Father Francis Xavier, "The Missionary" by Father Goveas, "The Superior" by Father Vergottini.—*May 7th*—St. Mary's first "Radio Play" entitled "The Strange Death of Cardinal Xavier" was put on. The "mike" was in an upper room while the Community listened to the loud speaker in the hall.

—*Our Field,* May, 1942.

Mission Statistics.—As war clouds burst over India and far-ranging black bombers drop death on ancient Ceylon and Madras, more hundreds of Jesuit missionaries come into the line of Jap fire. One-half of the foreign missionary priests in India are Jesuits; one-third of the 386 million pagans in India are cared for by Jesuits, and one-fifth of the four million Catholics are entrusted to the Jesuit missionaries. The American Jesuits in Patna will be in the direct path of Jap tanks if the invaders sweep up through Burma, round the north tip of the Bay of Bengal, and head for Bengal and the Ganges plain.

—*Seminary News, Oregon Province,* May, 1942

IRELAND

Hong Kong Missionaries.—Some time ago news came via the Vatican that the Irish Jesuits in Hong Kong and their undertakings are safe. It seems almost miraculous that some of the houses were not destroyed. Of one novice in Manila, Francis Chan (Fook Wai) there has been no news. No news has been received of Father Richard Kennedy, who, with his brother, a chartered accountant in Malay, were apparently in Singapore, when it was captured by the Japs.

—*Irish Province News*, April, 1942.

SCOTLAND

Tribute.—Glasgow saw a strange ceremony recently when Catholics paid their yearly tribute to one of God's heroes, Blessed John Ogilvie. The Jesuit was martyred for the Faith at Glasgow Cross 320 years ago. This year 1000 Glasgow Catholics walked silently to the sacred spot, sang two hymns, and departed as silently as they had come—an honor more grand than words.

—*Seminary News, Oregon Province*, May, 1942.

SPAIN

Golden Jubilee.—Spain's Pontifical University of Comillas, near Santander, conducted by the Jesuit Fathers, is observing the golden jubilee of its foundation; Archbishop Gaetano Cicognani, Papal Nuncio to Spain, pontificated at the Jubilee Mass. The Holy Father in a letter to the Very Rev. Vladimir Ledochowski, Superior General of the Society of Jesus,

felicitating the order in the jubilee, notes that some of the alumni of the university were destined "not only for the episcopal office and the Cardinalate, but even for martyrdom."

—*The Catholic News*, May 30, 1942.

Books of Interest to Ours

This Is My Body and **God Forgives Sins.** Pamphlets. *By Martin J. Scott, S.J.* The America Press. New York 1941 and 1942.

Without wasting a word Father Scott succeeds in thoroughly covering the Sacrifice of the Mass and the Sacrament of Penance. Neither pamphlet runs over 24 pages. Yet the positive doctrine, the history and the beauty of these mysteries stand out with force and clarity. Even difficulties and objections against them receive adequate treatment. Indeed the most satisfying feature of these monographs is the direct, forthright way in which the author answers difficulties.

T. F. G.

No Pope Can Be Wrong In Teaching Doctrine and **Divorce Is A Disease Which Destroys Marriage.** Pamphlets. *By Father Martin J. Scott, S.J.* The America Press. New York 1941 and 1942.

These two additions to Father Scott's extensive pamphlet-review of Catholic doctrine are clear and worthwhile. The Pope's infallibility is defended by the words of Scripture and by the independent and logical necessity of an infallible head. The pamphlet presents the *via Romanitatis* as pleasantly, and as briefly, as this "way" can ever be offered to a no-Popery mind. Catholics will find in it the roots of a demonstration for the unique validity of the Church, roots that have grown into numerous treatises and text-books. Father Scott has also pointed out the strong case for the Papacy that is to be drawn from early, uninspired documents, such as the letter of Clement of Rome.

The treatment of divorce is more immediately practical. The Church's unequivocal stand on marriage often occasions an emotional difficulty in Catholics and non-Catholics alike. This, and some psychological difficulties are developed and exposed to complete the doctrinal statements on marriage which are drawn from the New Testament. In this way Father Scott is able to make a positive application of the Church's teachings to the problem and practice of contraception, and to other contemporary evils. In particular his alignment of the Gospel

texts on marriage brings out their unanimity on the point of indissolubility.

Both pamphlets are supplemented by questions arranged for Study Clubs.

J. M. F.

UNIVERSITY BINDERY